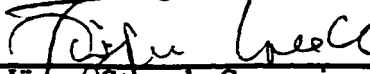


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1999


**Arriving at Identities:
Voice and Positioning in German Talk Shows
between 1989 and 1994**


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Voice and Positioning in German Talk Shows
between 1989 and 1994**

by

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Dedication

**To my parents
and F. E.**

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This dissertation offers a qualitative analysis of verbal interactions in German television talk shows between 1989 and 1994. It investigates how speakers of German formulate their own and others' affiliation to national identities and social spaces. In particular, it examines classifications of place, person, and time that include group and place names as well as grammatically complex expressions, deictic pronouns and adverbs, and certain motion verbs. In addition, repair is discussed as a resource in re-formulating identities.

This study mainly uses conversation analysis for transcribing and analyzing the interactions, including gesture and eye gaze, but also including settings, identities of participants and audiences, and social contexts. The data cover an exceptional period in German history, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and

focus specifically on the impact of German unification on speakers' articulation of identities. The interdisciplinary nature of this project offers insights for studies on identity, in particular national identity, language and culture (in sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, microethnography, and pragmatics), for language change, German studies, and media studies.

This dissertation reveals the social constraints and limits involved in identity construction, in particular the relationship between language and past social contexts. It applies Bakhtin's concept of "voice," in similarity to "perspective," and Bourdieu's concept of "habitus." Language is discussed as embodied social practice and intercultural difference as resulting, in part, from habitual language use. The study argues that speakers evoke intergroup differences through heteroglossic voices tied to their own past and present affiliation with the different social contexts of East and West Germany. Hanks' concept of "indexical ground" is further developed to include stereotypes and hierarchies among groups in the social space.

The analysis further demonstrates that speakers employ voices as politeness strategies and in order to strategically position themselves in relation to addressees. It considers the selections speakers make among difference linguistic resources and discusses grammatical resources, for example the non-distinction between inclusive and exclusive pronouns in German, in their impact on processes of positioning. The study compares deictic pronouns and adverbs with names, and ultimately questions the distinction between deixis and non-deixis for the data.

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Chapter One: Goals, theoretical framework, and methodology

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This dissertation describes the possibilities, choices, limits, and social constraints speakers encounter in formulating identities through language. In particular, this project examines how speakers of German formulate their personal and national identities on German talk shows between 1989 and 1994. People in eastern and western Germany experienced the fall of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989, and the unification of their countries on October 3, 1990. In the years that followed, people on both sides of the unified German state had to make considerable adjustments. This dissertation investigates the struggles over language that members from two previously different communities experienced when these states merged. It presents the results of an analysis of verbal interactions. This analysis studies speech situations that contain a particular set of linguistic resources with which members of German communities have formulated their inclusion in and exclusion from national identities. These resources are classifications of person, place, and time. They include place names, group names, pronouns, adverbs, and temporal phrases.

Difficulties in formulating identities for eastern and western Germans after November 9, 1989, have served as a launching point for this project. The following brief segment is one example of this difficulty.¹ It aired on January 21, 1994, in Dresden, on the German talk show *Die Riverboat Talkshow*. The speaker

¹ See section 6.3.2.4 for a more detailed discussion of this segment.

is Ingrid Caven (IC), a singer born in the FRG² (West Germany), who had by then lived in France for several years.

Data segment 1.1:

Die Riverboat Talkshow, MDR, January 21, 1994

place: Dresden (eastern Germany)

IC... Ingrid Caven

- 1 IC: hier jetzt eh **Leute aus dem ehemaligen** -
here now- uhm **people from the former** -
- 2 **aus der ehemaligen**- wie sagt man denn jetzt hier
from the former- how do you say that here now
- 3 **den neuen Bundesländern** das - (...) **the new Federal States** that - (...)
- 4 ich finde auch wenn **im Westen**
I think even though **in the West**
- 5 da jetzt so drauf gepocht - **in ehemaligen Westen**
people now insist - **in the former West**
- 6 jetzt so drauf gepocht **Westen** - **is es immer noch**
people now insist - **West** - **is it still**
- 7 **Westen?**
West?

As the social space of “Germanness” became contested with the opening of the borders between East and West Germany, speakers struggled with words that identified this social space and positioned themselves in relation to it. Speakers and interlocutors were challenged to use a language that had until then served them well as a resource to formulate their membership in two separate and opposing states. Overnight, a language that seemed unproblematic to East and West Germans started to create new meanings and to evoke old ones. to develop

² See section 1.4.4 for a discussion regarding the selection of my terminology.

voices in conversations, and to position speakers in relation to newly emerging social spaces.

Anybody who went through the social changes in Germany after 1989 may remember some peculiarities in the ways that speakers formulated their changing identities, such as an abundance of corrections and reformulations of place names and person terminology. When I noticed these peculiarities in others' conversations, I became aware that I had developed such habits myself. As a native East German, I frequently found myself correcting formulations of my own affiliation: *Ich bin aus der DDR - aus der ehemaligen DDR* (I am from the GDR - from the former GDR). Such corrections served as my point of departure. since as a conversation analyst, I work under the assumption that they are not simply mistakes but that they reveal important insights about the nature of seemingly stable relationships between individual and national identities.

Like other scholars, I was fascinated by the changes that started in 1989 and that involved East and West Germany and their people. As a sociolinguist focusing on the relationship between language and society, I became particularly interested in the linguistic aspects of these social changes. I noticed that speakers commonly use this inventory as a resource to formulate their own and others' personal identities as members of national communities. I decided to start a research project that focused on classifications of place, person, and time as a defined linguistic inventory used to formulate identities. I suspect that whenever such national identities are in flux, as in East and West Germany after 1989, an analysis of conversations involving this inventory might be a particularly promising way to further illuminate relationships between language and personal

as well as collective identities. This dissertation is the result of my research: it documents the intriguing possibilities and limits of language as a resource as well as the creativity of its users.

1.2 DEFINITIONS, RESEARCH QUESTIONS, AND CONTRIBUTIONS

1.2.1 The problem

If the linguistic processes that are at the center of this dissertation are motivated by the social changes in Germany, the question may be asked about which roles language plays in mediating personal and national identities. Thus, it can be asked what an analysis of the speech situation may contribute to an answer of this question. According to Bakhtin ([1986]1992), “the very problem of the national and the individual in language is basically the problem of the utterance (after all, only here, in the utterance, is the national language embodied in individual form)” (63). The central problem is how speakers embody this “national language” and what the effect of this “embodiment” in the speech situation is. An analysis of verbal interactions may contribute to our understanding of the changing German national identity since 1989, to the negotiation of identities in general, and to the relationship between individual utterances and national identity.

1.2.2 Personal, social, and national identity

Since my project entails the intersection between personal, social, and national identity, it becomes necessary to define these different kinds of *identity*.

Personal identity can be described as a culturally embedded notion of a person's uniqueness over time and that person's essential difference from others. Part of one's personal identity is the membership in different groups. This group membership is *social identity*. One kind of social identity is national identity.

Like personal identity, *national identity* can be characterized by its unity over a relatively long period of time as well as its difference from other national identities. National identity is a specific kind of a collective identity: it is also a political identity. It is established through political power and is usually based on geographical provenance, often bound to nation-states. Though borders between countries seem to give national identities a fixed form, these borders may also contest national identities. For example, one nation can break up into two or more nations.³ National identity may also be disputed beyond borders, as in the case of German national identity.⁴ While Smith (1991) makes common ethnicity a criterion for national identity, national identity is not always based on ethnic identity.⁵

National identity is a social space that can be manifested at the time of speaking as a political entity but that can also be emergent at that time. Language offers individuals ways to identify themselves with this space or not. Since language mediates between personal and national identity, the complexities of

³ For example, the splitting up of Czechoslovakia into Slovakia and the Czech Republic.

⁴ In 1961, the GDR government closed off the border between the GDR (East Germany) and the FRG (West Germany). Nonetheless, one German national identity but two states as one competing concept was frequently upheld by politicians in the FRG. (see also section 1.3.1).

⁵ In contrast to North America, ethnic identity plays a bigger role in parts of Europe, and certainly in Germany, in defining national identity. In Germany, citizenship is immediately granted to immigrants of German ethnic heritage, while only a long application process makes it possible for immigrants of non-German heritage to become citizens.

personal habits, geographic fixing of national identities, and language as a social phenomenon may largely intersect.

1.2.3 The intersection of personal and national identity

Above, personal, social, and national identities are defined as three different concepts. Though each of the three can theoretically be treated as separate, they intersect in the utterance.

As a theoretical entry to capture this complexity, Bourdieu's concept *habitus* seems helpful. As an alternative concept to identity, *habitus* takes into account the individuals' intersection with the social structure. *Habitus* describes the "dynamic intersection between structure and action, society and individual" (Postone et al. 1993: 4). Thus, within the structure of society, individuals can take action, i.e. they make decisions and selections.⁶ For example, speakers select among linguistic alternatives. According to Bourdieu (1977), the relationship to society has a *diachronic* and a *synchronic* dimension:

[*Habitus* is] an expression of (synchronically and diachronically defined) position in the social structure. (660)

The diachronic plane of *habitus* includes a person's knowledge and personal experience acquired in the past. The synchronic plane can be seen as the *habitus*' value and power in relation to others at the present moment. This synchronic aspect may include, for example, the talk show host's power at a particular moment compared to that of a guest on a talk show (see section 2.4.2).

⁶ While decisions are conscious, selections are not always conscious. Selections are often habitual or intuitive.

1.2.4 Classifications: identity construction in the speech situation

1.2.4.1 What are classifications?

Language offers linguistic resources to formulate identities of groups and individuals.⁷ I refer to these resources as *classifications*. There are different kinds of classification, for example, names, pronouns, as well as extended verbal descriptions.

While all classifications denote groups, names denote them most specifically. Names are based on the formation of groups; they denote groups that are “available.” In addition to denoting groups, classifications also include associated connotations about the social spaces they denote. These connotation include stereotypes and values about these groups. While classifications have connotations about the groups they denote, they may also have connotations about the users of these names. For example, some classifications may only be used by a certain group or community.

1.2.4.2 Classifications as symbols

Classifications are signs; they are a “form of symbolic organization of the world” (Sherzer 1987: 296). Thus, they express relationships between groups in the social space. They are a “representation of the world” (Bourdieu 1994: 229). Consequently, in times of competing constructions of social space, speakers’

⁷ As Goffman (1963) points out, labeling and categorizing are a common, and often necessary, part of identifying in interactions.

individual naming practices become essential markers of alliances and identifications. According to Borneman (1992), “naming and categorizing are always contested acts because they are essential sources of power in the construction of local, national, and international loyalties” (12). Thus, whenever social spaces are contested, names are contested also.

1.2.4.3 Classifications as habitual signs

Speakers of a community rely on classifications to denote their own and others’ collective identities. These classifications, in particular names, are common linguistic resources to denote national identities, as long as these identities are stable. This relationship suggests that linguistic resources rely on this stability. Thus, using classifications may be a problem if this stability is gone.

For speakers of a community, these stable relationships may mean that speakers of a speech community use these signs habitually. People of a community develop a shared understanding or “common sense knowledge” (Schegloff 1972) about these forms. They share the same or similar presuppositions. This use includes denoting stable relationships between social spaces but it also includes connotations. Thus, names may become motivated for speakers of a community as forms to denote and connote meanings about relationships between social spaces as well as about speakers using these forms, just as dialects identify their speakers as belonging to a certain region. Members

of a community habitually employ these classifications to formulate their own inclusion in and exclusion from communities.

Classifications are signs that grow out of a speech community. They exemplify that language is motivated for the speakers of a speech community. even though speakers may not always be aware of it. Thus, if two groups merge. speakers may use classifications based on habitual formulations of inclusion and exclusion. This would mean that intergroup differences may emerge as a consequence of changes in the social structure (Barth 1979).

1.2.4.4 Identification

Classifications employed by speakers have consequences for collective and for personal identities of speakers and of others. Classifications are linguistic resources first, to identify groups and, second, to identify individuals as part of groups.

First, whenever speakers employ these classifications, they identify groups. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) describe this process as one meaning of “identify,” namely to “pick out as a particular example or group” (2). Through this identification of groups, speakers present their images about the world, which includes relationships between social spaces. Names, for example, identify a particular social space in relation to others. Urban (1986) points out that proper names are key semiotic devices for anchoring any discourse to the world, and further he argues that:

[i]t is in part by means of these proper names that a text constructs an image of a specific world. (4)

This “picking out” appears to be referential whenever groups are stable and identifiable. However, if the social space is in flux and collective identities, for example, national identities, compete, this process of identifying may be contested by interlocutors.

Second, while speakers project images about the world and about social groups with language whenever they employ classifications, categorizing and labeling are also consequential for personal identities. In employing classifications, speakers identify individuals as part of groups. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) describe this meaning of “identifying” as “to recognize some entity as a part of some larger entity” (2). While speakers may identify themselves as parts of groups (in self-assignments), they also identify others as parts of groups (in other-assignments). In the latter case, speakers identify somebody as belonging to a certain group when they employ classifications for that individual.

Hoerman (1994) points out that this second aspect of identifying is not equivalent to real membership with a group. In her study on *Aussiedler*,⁸ she notes that group membership for these people is “non-existent (or not yet existing)” (21). Though processes of identification may be, as Hoerman (1994) asserts, a “wish to be a member of a certain group” (21), this does not necessarily have to be the case. Speakers also employ identifications for habitual and other reasons.

⁸ *Aussiedler* refers to a certain group of recent immigrants in Germany. These immigrants, who have lived in Russia and Kazakhstan, are of German origin.

1.2.4.5 Limits of classifications

Labels and names, in particular, formulate identities as stable. They also formulate persons as members of fixed groups. Thus, one effect of names is that they make identity rhetorically stable. They create an illusion of stability. In contrast, the intersection between the individual and society is rather flexible. With habitus, we can better explain this flexibility. A break in the social structure, such as the fall of the Wall, has an effect on habitus: it can lead to a break in identity and, thus, a difficulty in labeling. Difficulties in labeling can also be caused by people who move between social spaces that are perceived as different. While identity and labeling try to categorize these people, there is no easy categorization. The consequence is that certain kinds of classifications can not express habitus but only identity.

Even though names have these limitations, speakers naturally employ them. Names may be habitual ways of formulating stable communities as well as members of these communities. Second, they correspond with one of the Gricean (1975) maxims for communication which states that speakers employ language economically. Names are an expression of this economy. However, names do not take into consideration complex intersections between the individual and society.

1.2.4.6 Indexicality and the speech situation

Indexicality refers to the contention that the same classifications may index different relationships between individuals and groups depending on the

speech situation. The relationships they index may depend, for example, on the participants,⁹ on the setting, and on the linguistic context.¹⁰

This “indexicality principle” (Ochs 1992) functions in different ways. First, when speakers employ classifications, these classifications may, but do not necessarily have to, index a desire for group membership. Second, the same linguistic elements may index inclusion and exclusion of individuals to groups differently. Third, the formulation of exclusion from and inclusion in groups may index the perception about relationships between social spaces.

1.2.5 Contributions

This dissertation stands in the tradition of studies that have tried to illuminate the relationship between single verbal encounters and cultural, social, and situative contexts (Goodwin 1990; Keating 1998; Rampton 1995; among others). In considering the role that language, individuals, social contexts, and settings play in the formulation of personal and national identities, this dissertation offers a theoretical contribution to this body of literature. In focusing on classifications of place, person, and time, it concentrates on a set of linguistic resources that are considered central in the formation of social identities.

Since names are symbolic representations of the world, naming is considered central to national identity building. This dissertation observes identity building on the level of interaction. Thus, this project sees its

⁹ The presence or absence of people in the speech situation becomes an important factor for indexicality.

¹⁰ By linguistic context, I mean that which is said in a conversation.

contribution in its attention to how individuals are involved in classification and naming processes. Since individuals are agents of language as well as of social change, each verbal encounter can be considered to have an impact on changes of language and representations. In fact, qualitative studies are most likely the only way to see how single instances of language use contribute to identity formation at large. Thus, a qualitative analysis like that performed for this dissertation may contribute to a better understanding of how language changes.¹¹

While the categories of East and West German were available social categories for German speakers at the time the talk show data cover, this dissertation considers these categories as functional. An analysis of the speech situation reveals when and how these categories emerge. In other words, the analysis examines how, and in which speech situations, speakers formulate East and West German spaces as different and as similar. In focusing on classifications, it particularly considers the role of these classifications in keeping the differences between “us” and “them.”

Since classifications formulate the intersection between the individual and society, identification processes also involve personal identity formation. Thus,

¹¹ Keller writes in regard to “German” data post-1989: “Auf der Makroebene kann der Sprachwandlungsprozeß nur beschrieben, aber nicht erklärt werden. Auf ihr läßt sich der Bedeutungswandel von einem Wort wie Fortschritt nicht erfassen. Der Kampf um die Besetzung von Begriffen ist nur auf der Mikroebene erschließbar. Erfolg oder Mißerfolg solcher semantischen Kämpfe, die in der Wendezeit ausgefochten wurden, können nur in einer funktionalistischen Perspektive, die Mikro- und Makroebene verbindet, verstanden werden. Denn auch mit den Absichten der Sprecher allein läßt sich, wie wir gesehen haben, der Sprachwandel nicht erklären.“ (Keller 1990: 42). (On the macrolevel, the process of language change can only be described but not explained. The macrolevel cannot explain the semantic change of the word *Fortschritt* (progress), for example. The fight about the semantic filling of such terms can only be observed on the microlevel. Success or failure of such semantic fights, as they were found during the *Wendezeit*, can only be understood from a functional perspective that combines micro- with macrolevel. Language change, as argued before, cannot even be explained based on the intentions of speakers alone. trans. G.L.)

this dissertation also investigates the role of classifications in their impact on the formation of personal identities.

In focusing on identification processes in verbal interactions, this dissertation reveals what the “negotiation” of identities entails. To the extent that national identity is a “collective” identity, the present study investigates how individuals gain entry to this collective identity through language, and which role social as well as grammatical constraints play in this process. This study especially attends to the specifics of the German grammar system in its effects on the formulation of identities and on identifications.

This dissertation considers the individual as agent in personal as well as collective identity building, even though identity building may be constrained by issues of power as well as limited by grammatical resources. Thus, a question that this dissertation attempts to answer, at least partially, concerns the role of the speaking individual. If classifications as verbal resources are motivated by social and political contexts, the individual as member of society must play a major part in mediating between language and social representations. According to Bourdieu (1977):

In a person’s speech habits ... the memory of his or her origins, which may be otherwise abjured, is preserved and exposed. (659)

Since speech habits are part of the person’s past experiences, living in different social spaces may result in different social practices. Thus, habitual language use may have consequences for identification processes in the speech situation.

Since national identity has a relation to geographical provenance, this aspect may play a role in language use. The question becomes how, if at all,

geography figures into the use of classifications and identification processes. More specifically, the physical movement of people between geographical places may have an impact on the formulation and identification of social spaces as well as individuals.

This dissertation offers insights for the fields of linguistics as well as cultural studies. From a linguistic perspective, it focuses on the possibilities and limits language has for individuals in daily linguistic practices. I am concerned with the ways in which individuals arrive at meanings by using language in new and creative ways. This project links the daily linguistic practices to beliefs, values, and perceptions people have about societies and about their own and others' places in them. In that sense, this dissertation is similar to a semiotic approach to culture, which is "to aid us in gaining access to the conceptual world in which our subjects live" (Geertz 1973: 24).

1.3 ETHNOGRAPHIC SITE: GERMAN HISTORY, IDENTITIES, AND LANGUAGE

1.3.1 A brief history since 1945

After the end of WW II, Germany came under the control of the allied forces: the Americans, French, and British in the western sector and the Russians in the eastern sector of Germany. Berlin, in the middle of the eastern sector, was also divided: the eastern part came under Russian control and the western part under the control of the other allied forces. Germany's occupied territories started to rebuild their economies in the aftermath of the war. Resulting from the different forces of occupation, different administrative and economic structures

developed in the eastern sector (including East Berlin) and in the western sector (including West Berlin).

In 1949, the states *Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (FRG) and *Deutsche Demokratische Republik* (GDR) were founded, which enforced the division of Germany. On May 23, 1949, the *Parlamentarischer Rat*¹² declared the FRG on the territory of the western sector. On October 7, 1949, the *Volkskammer*¹³ declared the GDR on the territory of the eastern sector. The latter understood itself as a new state with no direct lineage from the German perpetrators of WW II; rather, it identified with the victims of WW II and, as a result of the war, traced its heritage to the German communist and, in part, to the social democratic movement. According to the GDR, the FRG had to assume responsibility for Germany's WW II past. In fact, the FRG understood itself as the "real" Germany: it did not recognize the GDR as an independent state until 1972, but even then without legal consequences.¹⁴

In 1961, the GDR closed off its border to the FRG overnight and built the Berlin Wall. This tremendously restricted contact between the two states. Free travel, for example, to visit families, or in order to work in one state (usually the FRG) while living in the other (usually the GDR), was no longer possible.¹⁵ Until the fall of the Wall on November 9, 1989, travel between the two countries was

¹² *Parlamentarischer Rat* was the first provisional body of western German legal representation.

¹³ *Volkskammer* was the first body of eastern German legal representation.

¹⁴ GDR and FRG did not have embassies in the other country but only *Vertretungen* (representations). (Pleticha 1993)

¹⁵ The *Deutsche Demokratische Republik* used the name *Antifaschistischer Schutzwall* (Antifascist Protection Wall) for the Berlin Wall. This name suggests that the reason the Wall was built was to "protect" the GDR from western influence; the Wall kept skilled workers in the country since statistics showed that many workers from the GDR worked in the FRG.

difficult and restricted. People living in the FRG were forced to exchange a certain daily amount of currency (*Zwangsumtausch*) if they wanted to visit the other country. People living in the GDR needed a special visa to visit the other country (or any western country, for that matter), which was granted very rarely: people could also apply to leave the GDR (a process called *Ausreise*) but the application often took years and not many people were granted to leave.¹⁶ If these people were allowed to leave, or if they escaped,¹⁷ they were automatically granted the right of citizenship in the FRG, according to its constitution.

The opening of the borders between the GDR and the FRG was the result of a longer process of changes within the GDR and between eastern and western Europe in general. It started with Gorbachev's perestroika and received its main impetus with the opening of the border between Hungary and Austria in March 1989. This border opening made it possible for many people from the GDR to go to the FRG via Hungary and Austria. Starting in September 1989 and going beyond November 1989, people in the GDR regularly demonstrated in several cities for democratic changes within the GDR. On November 9, 1989, the GDR government ordered the opening of the border between the GDR and the FRG.¹⁸ Two weeks later, the East German government resigned, and a period of public discussions about changes within East Germany started. During this time, especially until December 1989, people in East and West Germany imagined

¹⁶ In some cases, people were "sold" by the GDR to the FRG.

¹⁷ If people escaped, they risked being killed by GDR soldiers on the border. Over the years, some one hundred people were killed on the border.

¹⁸ Between November 9, 1989, and unification in 1990, there was a period of social and political "threshold" (Turner 1967).

different blueprints for Germany besides unification, among them the so-called “third way”¹⁹ and non-unification.²⁰

The first free elections in East Germany on March 18, 1990, brought a victory for the *Allianz für Deutschland*.²¹ As a result of the currency union in East Germany on July 1, 1990, the *Deutschmark*, that was the currency in West Germany, also became the only currency in East Germany: this currency union was the economic step towards political unification.²² East and West Germany politically unified on October 3, 1990. The Soviet Union’s guarantee to release the GDR of its obligations in the eastern bloc as well as the right of citizenship stipulated in West Germany’s constitution provided for the legal entry of East Germany to West Germany.

German unification ended 41 years of political separation. Throughout this separation, the question of whether the two countries were two states but one nation or two separate nations remained contested and fluctuated with the political climate (Herwig 1994). Shortly after the Wall came down and the people of the two countries had contact again, many of them experienced the other country as a different culture.²³ In perceiving differences rather than similarities, people were

¹⁹ This concept suggested the building of a new state within the borders of the GDR. More broadly, the “third way” referred to the concept of a society between socialism and capitalism, i.e. a socialism with structures of a market economy.

²⁰ This concept was at one time suggested in West Germany by members of the major oppositional party *SPD* (one of the party members was the chancellor candidate Oskar Lafontaine.)

²¹ The *Allianz für Deutschland* was a party alliance led by the East German *CDU* that was sponsored by the West German *CDU*, the governing party in West Germany.

²² I prefer the term “unification” to “reunification” because the latter implies that the FRG and the GDR had been unified before.

²³ Cf. the survey conducted by the newsmagazine *Spiegel* in 1992.

certainly guided by stereotypes²⁴ that were created by Cold War ideology that never ceased to exist during the previous forty years. These stereotypes seemed to intensify after the fall of the Wall. Social knowledge, including knowledge of stereotypes, has an impact on the formulation of identities and is therefore a factor in the discussion of data analyzed for this dissertation.

1.3.2 Economic and social realities and stereotypes

The two countries were different not only politically, but also in terms of their economic and social systems, when they unified. The FRG had developed into a highly industrialized capitalist country and had one of the highest industrial economic outputs in the world. It developed a welfare state combined with a free market economy and established a political model of western democracy. In contrast, the GDR was economically driven by a centrally planned economy, the economic system governing all socialist countries, which was not competitive on the world market. With unification, the GDR went through economic, political, social, and judicial changes to adopt FRG structures.

Derived from their often rudimentary knowledge about the other country, people in the FRG and the GDR had developed cognitive images (or stereotypes) about people and about life in the other country. These images seemed to become reinforced after the opening of the border between the GDR and the FRG, when the competition between the countries in terms of the “real Germany” and the

²⁴ Following Scollon and Scollon (1995), I understand stereotyping as “overgeneralization,” namely the “process by which all members of a group are asserted to have the characteristics attributed to the whole group” (155).

“better system” required people to take sides and to judge the product of forty years of different social policies.

According to Scollon and Scollon (1995), stereotyping “often arises when someone comes to believe that any two cultures or social groups ... can be treated as if they were polar opposites” (155). Since the FRG and the GDR seemed to have little in common politically, socially, and economically, there was obviously ample food for (negative) stereotyping after 1989.

Part of the argument in this dissertation is that the polarity may partially have been a consequence of a habitual application of an “us” vs. “them” dichotomy in conversations, even after 1989. Linguistic resources themselves may have reinforced this polarity in cases where linguistic choices involuntarily positioned speakers in relation to groups.

1.3.3 Classifications and their consequences for speakers of German

1.3.3.1 Classifications and social change

Classifications for the GDR and the FRG and its people as well as for social spaces after 1989 (see section 3.3) have always had connotations, while they denoted social spaces. Connotations included that these classifications were sanctioned by either the GDR or the FRG only and that they included stereotypes and economic and social differences between the countries. Naming practices, while they were contested even before 1989, became an important part of the competition over the “very representation of the world” (Bourdieu 1994: 229) after November 9, 1989.

After November 1989, denotation also became a problem. With the opening of the border, the social space of “Germanness” started to be in flux and classifications denoting social spaces became problematic. For a time, the symbols that had previously denoted relatively stable relationships between personal and national identities suddenly lost their referents because of several competing visions of the German social space.

For individuals, the seemingly stable relationship between personal and national identity that most people had acquired who had lived only in the GDR or in the FRG suddenly broke apart. The selection of any classification in conversation could potentially index one or the other competing vision, even without conscious awareness of speakers. As the discussion of the data analysis in the chapters shows, speakers were often habitualized to using classifications in certain ways. The language they used *positioned* them and others in relation to social spaces and emerged with different *voices* in the interaction, two concepts that I define in the next section.

1.3.3.2 Voice and Positioning

By *voice*, I refer to the way that words used in the speech situation may evoke different texts at the same time; it may appear as if the words are taken from other texts and these other texts “speak” from the words the speaker employs. This “speaking” is what I call, following Bakhtin, *voice*. Different voices are allusions to different “genres” (Bakhtin [1986] 1992), whereby “genres correspond to typical situations of speech communication, typical themes, and

consequently, also to particular contacts between the *meanings* of words and actual concrete reality under certain typical circumstances” (87: italics in the original).

Voice appears in the speech situation in several ways. First, it is the voice of the speaker emanating from the speaker’s body.²⁵ Voice also manifests itself in the voluntary use of other texts (e.g., the use of quotes). In addition, voices can arise with the, sometimes involuntary, allusion to other texts, i.e. texts of which speakers themselves may not be aware. In this latter sense, voice may rest with the addressees who are reminded, through the speakers’ words, of other contexts.

If at least two voices emerge with the same word or phrase, the utterance is “heteroglossic” (Bakhtin [1986] 1992). This heteroglossia can be described using Urban’s (1986) concept of “implicit intertextuality,” which he defines as “a relationship between texts based on the sharing of rhetorical features” (18). These rhetorical features include classifications. If the same classification, for example, “we,” has different, but specific referents, “we” has different voices and is heteroglossic.

If speakers, intentionally or unintentionally, use a specific voice that is associated with particular contexts, including different social spaces, they *position* themselves. *Positioning* refers to the means by which individuals define their relationships to the social structure as “speaking subjects” (Kristeva 1989), referred to as *subject position* in the following discussion. In the speech situation, speakers position themselves by selecting among different alternatives (of words).

²⁵ Barbara Johnstone in *The Linguistic Individual* (1996) treats voice in this sense, namely as the individual’s style.

gesture and eye gaze) in order to adopt subject positions. Speakers can also position themselves in regard to their own words, for example, if their words evoke a certain voice that they do not want to have associated with themselves.

While the identification processes described earlier are, in fact, ways of positioning, positioning has yet another dimension. Positioning implies a closeness or distance to objects or events described by, or associated with, a particular voice. As Kuno (1987) points out, positioning may be seen as “emotional closeness” or “empathy.” It may index the speakers’ or interlocutors’ (emotional) position in relation to competing social spaces.

Positioning is a process in which speakers are actively involved. This process, however, also actively involves addressees as well as the contexts at the time of speaking (including the setting and social circumstances). Thus, while speakers position themselves, they are also positioned by others and by their contexts.

Since the speaking subject has choices in identification, different subject positions emerge with the selection among different alternatives. In making these selections, speakers rely on alternatives available to them. Restricted choices present a major problem for speakers who appear in my data because such alternatives, in this case verbal resources (classifications of place, person, and time), are lacking and others are permeated with several different voices. However, selection is a necessary consequence of speaking.²⁶ The failure to speak may also be recognized as a choice. In addition, speakers can always be

²⁶ Foucault (1970), among others, points out that naming one thing is not naming another.

held responsible for what they say, even though their word selection may be based on habitual ways of speaking.

1.3.3.3 The project as a German case study

In recent years, linguists have undertaken several studies about the relationship between language and German unification (Czyzewski et al. 1995: Fix 1993; Fraas 1994; Hellmann 1993; Kurz 1996; Lewis 1995; Welke et al.: Wolf 1995). In addition to linguists, German unification has been the object of studies for anthropologists, historians, political scientists, and journalists.

Among this literature, there seems to be a need for projects that focus on the role of language in daily interactions, which becomes necessary for reasons described in section 1.2.5. This dissertation contributes to closing this gap by studying authentic²⁷ conversational data.

Language in this study is considered to be embedded within cultural and social contexts. Thus, it is treated neither as divorced from these contexts nor as a psychological phenomenon. This study combines linguistics with an ethnographic approach in order to focus on the relationship between language, personal, and national identities at the time of tremendous social changes in Germany.

²⁷ In Chapter Two, I discuss the specifics of conversations in the media and the term “authentic” in more detail.

1.4 METHODOLOGY AND STYLISTIC CONVENTIONS

1.4.1 Microethnographic analysis

In this section, I explicate the analytical steps of my analysis. The choice of the data itself, interactions from German talk shows between 1989 and 1995, will be described in more detail in Chapter Two.

From the available videotaped material, I selected instances of talk which contain classifications of place, person, and time that formulate personal identities as national identities of East and West Germany.²⁸ This selection process involved viewing the material several times and transcribing a considerable amount of data. With the help of these transcriptions, but still using the original videotapes, I did a first analysis of individual data segments.

In this analysis, I identified the classifications of place, person, and time as belonging to certain word classes, for example, nominals, pronouns, and adverbs. In addition, I identified the date of the talk show and specifics about the setting (for example, place of speaking, interlocutors, audiences). I then started to analyze the data segment using conversation analysis as my main method. One premise of this analysis is that interactional details (e.g. pauses, interruptions, corrections) are important for participants to arrive at meanings. In addition, selections among alternative available resources can be taken as meaningful. According to Goffman (1983),

²⁸ In my focus on identity formulations related to East and West Germany, I neglect other identity formulations at that time that are equally interesting and relevant, for example, marginalized identities such as those of *Aussiedler* (see footnote 8) or *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers).

one can take encouragement from the fact that a wide range of social presuppositions in discourse appear to be systematically represented through the ways in which we select, order, and prosodically time and intone our words, thus providing a record that is engagingly objective and sensitive. (28)

Goffman elaborates on the difference between a verbal answer to a question and a pause following a question. For the first, the speaker can be held responsible. for the latter, the speaker can always claim otherwise (190).

In the analysis, I took features of the present context and setting into account, since this information was also available to the speakers, interlocutors, and audiences. Participants and audiences were aware of the time of speaking (including the social context of the time), the place, as well as their roles (for example their respective roles as talk show hosts and guests) and identities which had been formulated previously in the same interaction or in other social contexts (for example participants who were known as VIPs). The presence or absence of people on the talk shows was also a consideration in the analysis. In addition to the time of speaking, I paid close attention to that time of the narrated event as indexed by the tenses used.

Thus, I attended to several kinds of *contexts* in the analysis. The first of these contexts is the social context at the time of speaking as well as past social contexts. The effect of this context may be an awareness about social and economic relationships between social spaces, and about stereotypes. The second context is the setting, which includes the place of speaking, participants, and audiences. Third, speakers and interlocutors attend to the linguistic context that I also call co-text, which is the surrounding talk, i.e. the words spoken before the present moment of speaking.

In general, my analysis focused on aspects of contexts as they are made relevant by the speakers themselves. This approach is subject to an understanding of conversation as a social activity where speakers' knowledge about the social world is "contextualized" in talk.²⁹ If speakers contextualize language in the interaction, they make aspects of the contexts relevant in talk themselves. In the analysis of some instances, however, I, as the analyst, take the role of the audience. In such cases, I infer meanings from the speakers' words derived from the setting and from contexts. I can assume that participants in the interaction also arrive at these meanings, though I am aware that other interpretations are possible.

As a last step, I compared individual formulations with each other. I compared them with other formulations in the same setting as well as across different settings. Later on, I arranged these individual instances of talk in groups as they appear as subtitles in the individual chapters. For each group, I then chose one or more representative data segments.

My research questions as well as my analysis cannot be divorced from my own habitus, my life experience in the GDR before 1989 and in the unified Germany after 1990. The ways in which I arrive at meanings may be influenced by the part I took in a culture whose semiotics have been changing. Borneman's (1992) caveat to analysis seems apt in my own case:

Much like the people we study, we cannot escape from being identified by the cultural and historical contexts of the groups to whom we belong any more than the individuals studied can separate themselves from their groups. (12)

²⁹ My approach in making context part of the analysis has strongly been influenced by Gumperz' (1982) and Auer's (1995) works on contextualization.

Consequently, my own identity influenced and made possible this project in several ways. First, my own identity was certainly a factor that motivated me to do this research and I am not alone at that. Second, the analysis itself was often driven by the visceral feeling I had about the way speakers used language in the interactions; this feeling certainly had to do with the changes that affected my own speaking and the ways in which I had to adjust to a new indexical ground in my own language use. Thus, there was certainly an unintentional awareness related to my own position that led to discover the processes I describe in this dissertation. Third, when I started to write this dissertation, I had already lived outside of Germany for four years, which added an outsider perspective that led me see things in new ways.

While I initially focused on eastern Germans' linguistic behavior, I soon discovered that western Germans were equally involved in the identification processes I have analyzed. Also, the research and writing outside of Germany let me escape some of the emotions and tensions that seem to occur with any research on unification, and conferences in Germany evidence this. Fourth, I can leave your country but I cannot leave your mother tongue (Rahman Jamal, p.c.). Thus, my mother tongue, including the eastern German voice, may be present in this dissertation without my own awareness. In addition, since there is no neutral ground, my use of terminology positions myself as much as it positions the speakers in my data (see section 1.4.4).

1.4.2 Conversation analysis

In the analysis of verbal interactions, I generally follow the methodology of conversation analysis. This method was initiated by sociologists, mainly Harvey Sacks, Gail Jefferson, and Emanuel Schegloff, who recorded spontaneous, unscripted conversation and analyzed this audio- and videotaped material. Talk, as the exchange of utterances between more than one speaker, became the primary object of study.

Conversation analysts aim to find regularities in the organization of talk that are speakers' resources just like the linguistic and grammatical inventory are resources in conversations. In their search for systematic structures in the organization of talk, conversation analysts pay close attention to pauses, overlaps between speakers, gesture and eye gaze, as well as the speakers' selections of lexical items and grammatical structures from sets of alternatives available to them.³⁰

1.4.3 Transcription Conventions

In transcribing the interactions from videotapes, I used the transcription conventions developed by conversation analysts (Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson 1974). While I transcribed all spoken words as long as they were intelligible on the tapes, I did not always transcribe gesture, eye gaze and other features of the interaction. This has been a pragmatic choice motivated by the focus of the study: it is not an attempt to favor the spoken word over other aspects of the speech

³⁰ When I discuss the selection of words or phrases by speakers, I do not imply that speakers necessarily make these selections consciously.

situation. In instances where gesture and eye gaze become an important aspect of formulating identities, I transcribed them and included them in the interpretation of my data.

Not all of my transcriptions are included in the text of this dissertation. I have chosen particular data segments in order to build an argument. The segments are numbered continuously within each chapter, the first number indicating the chapter. Each line contains the German transcription and an English translation. The translations are as idiomatic as possible but also as close to the German structure as possible. In order to make the German structure visible in the English, I may reject a more idiomatic English version in favor of a less idiomatic one if the latter is closer to the German, for example. I may choose the English active construction with “one” instead of the more idiomatic passive in the translation of German active with *man*.

The transcribed segments can be read like dialogue texts. The left column contains line numbers for the purpose of analysis and the second column contains abbreviations for speakers’ names. Line breaks are not identical with pauses but are simply a matter of margin limits. A speaker’s *turn* appears in the transcript as text corresponding to one speaker. One turn, however, can consist of more than one *turn constructional unit (TCU)*.³¹ A TCU is marked by boundaries within a speaker’s turn that makes speaker change relevant but may not necessarily result in speaker change (i.e. the current speaker can continue).

³¹ In contrast, I use *utterance*, following Bakhtin, as a more general term for a speaker’s verbal and gestural expression and speech situation.

Even though I provide a table of my transcription notations below, the following description of these notations may clarify some ambiguities that could arise from space constraints in the table. In the formatting, the German transcriptions and the English translations are in normal text.³² *Italics* in the transcript is used to transcribe gesture, eye gaze and to comment on audience reactions. The **bolded** words in each segment are the focus of my analysis. The start of overlaps between speakers (speaking at the same time) are indexed by open square brackets [. Underlining indicates words or parts of words stressed by the speaker. CAPS are used for words or parts of words spoken louder than others in the segment. Texts within < ... > is spoken slower than the rest: text in > ... < is spoken faster than the rest. Degree signs ° indicate that the text in between them is spoken softer than the surrounding talk. If speech latches directly onto a just completed TCU boundary either by the same or another speaker, an equal sign = is used. A question mark indicates question intonation (though not necessarily a question in a grammatical sense) and a comma is used to mark slightly rising intonation. Pauses within a speaker's turn or between turns are indicated by dots in parentheses (...). The number of dots³³ corresponds to the relative length³⁴ of a pause. Parentheses () in the German transcript are used for speech which is unintelligible; square brackets in the English translations are used for necessary comments regarding the translation. Speaker's inbreath is

³² Notice that in the text, however, German excerpts from the transcripts appear in *italics* while English translations appear in parentheses.

³³ This system has been suggested by Gumperz. I use dots rather than numbers because I did not measure the pauses with a watch.

³⁴ The pauses are measured in relation to the speaker's speech rhythm rather than in real time.

transcribed as .hh and cut-offs within a word or at non-TCUs are indicated by a dash -.

In summary, the following conventions are used:

<i>Italics</i>	gesture, eye gaze, audience reactions etc.
bolded	focus of analysis
[start of overlap between speakers' utterances
<u>Underlining</u>	stress
CAPS	loudness
< text >	text is spoken slower than the rest
> text <	text is spoken faster than the rest
° text °	text is spoken softer than the rest
=	speech latches directly onto a just completed TCU boundary
?	question intonation
,	slightly rising intonation
(.)	micropause
(..)	micropause slightly longer than (.)
(Germ./ Engl.)	unintelligible speech
[English]	comments about the translation
.hh	inbreath
-	cut-offs within a word or at non-TCUs

For each of the data segments presented in the following chapters, I include information in the following order: title of the show (in italics), personal

index number, station, date, place, and speakers. In addition. I give information the kind of audience(s), participants, and information about the social context at the time of speaking in the text.

1.4.4 Terminology

In the transcriptions as well as the text, I need to refer to past and present social spaces of eastern and western Germany. I find it necessary to define my selection of place and person terminology regarding the social space of “Germany” and its people in order to make terms specific to a certain time period in German history and in order to redress as much as possible associations made with the terms used.

In the following discussion, I insist that it is impossible to maintain non-positionality if it comes to using place and person terms in regard to the countries and the social spaces of eastern and western Germany and its people. This, of course, also holds for my use of such terms in this dissertation.

I base the decision about which term to use on three main principles: parallelism in eastern and western German terminology (in the hope of appropriating value neutrality),³⁵ maximum consistency, and reflection of those social changes that speakers in my data mark in their speech.

Three different sets of place and person formulations correspond to three periods. These periods are: 1) the pre-November period (before the fall of the

³⁵ It may be argued that complete neutrality is not possible. Since I have disclosed my own identity as eastern German, some terms I use may be terms sanctioned in the GDR and may therefore be considered to demonstrate alliance with the GDR, even if such an alliance is not intended.

Wall on November 9, 1989), 2) the transition period (between November 9, 1989, and unification on October 3, 1990), and 3) the post-unification period (after October 3, 1990).

The abbreviations “GDR” and “FRG” serve to describe eastern and western Germany before the fall of the Wall. GDR is the abbreviation for German Democratic Republic (*Deutsche Demokratische Republik*) and FRG stands for Federal Republic of Germany (*Bundesrepublik Deutschland*): I resort to the abbreviations as the shorter versions and for parallelism. I also prefer “FRG” to “Federal Republic,”³⁶ because it highlights the fact that the FRG before 1989 was different from the Federal Republic as it is now, since the name Federal Republic is used today to denote the unified Germany. In reference to people living in these countries before November 1989, I use “person from the GDR”³⁷ and “person from the FRG.”

For the transition period, the time between November 9, 1989, and unification on October 3, 1990, I use “West Germany” and “East Germany” for the countries and “West Germans” and “East Germans” for the people of these countries. This change in terms reflects what numerous speakers in my data document: that the relative status of the countries GDR and FRG in relation to each other had changed immediately with the fall of the Wall, even though the political entities of GDR and FRG persisted until October 3, 1990.

³⁶ *Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Federal Republic) was the term preferred by the *Bundesrepublik Deutschland* itself.

³⁷ This wording may be considered cumbersome. However, the possible alternatives *GDR citizen* and *FRG citizen* are problematic in regard to people who left the GDR before 1989 and became FRG citizens based on the constitution of the FRG. The alternatives suggested above (*person from x*) index the background of the person; knowing the background is often crucial for the analysis, which is why I decided for these formulations, despite their insufficiency.

Last, in reference to the geographical territories of the former GDR and the former FRG after October 3, 1990, the post-unification period. I use *eastern Germany* and *western Germany*. In referring to these entities as separate territories, I do not want to suggest a separate political status. I use these terms mainly to indicate the place of speaking in the post-unification context, which is especially crucial in the discussion of deictics (chapters 5 and 6).

For the post-unification period, I reserve the terms *eastern German* and *western German* for people who have lived in the GDR/East Germany and the FRG/West Germany before October 3, 1990, even though these people might have changed their places of residence during the post-unification period. I use these terms without implying that eastern Germans hold on to their pasts (commonly referred to as “*ostaligisch*,” a word play on “*nostalgisch*” (nostalgic)). Nor do I want to imply that western Germans cannot sympathize with people from eastern Germany. The terms are necessary solely as information regarding speakers’ and audiences’ lives before unification, including their experiences with living in the different states. The allusion to people’s past experience is based on Bourdieu’s (1990) understanding of “habitus” where individual identity and social structure intertwine. At several places in my dissertation I argue, based on data analysis, that people rely on and present these past lives in the present moment of speaking. For that reason, it becomes necessary to distinguish between eastern Germans and western Germans, even though their post-unification citizenship is the same, namely German.

Place and person terminology appear in the introductions to data segments and in the discussions of these segments as well as in other sections of my

dissertation. The selection corresponds to the date of the show rather than to today's perspective. For example, instead of using *former GDR* and *former GDR citizen*, I use *GDR* and *person from the GDR* in reference to the time before November 9, 1989. Consequently, I may use different terms in conjunction with the same interlocutors in my data if these interlocutors appear in different data segments at different times. Thus, my selection of terminology is an additional marker that indexes the date of speaking, which may help the reading process. I am aware, however, that my selection of terminology has its limitations. Naming and categorizing cannot be neutral, and fixed categories can never account for the flexible identities of human beings. Thus, in very few instances, I may even divert from the suggested terms and describe social identities by paraphrasing.

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation is organized into seven chapters. Following this introduction is a separate chapter about the data on which the empirical analysis is based. Chapters three through six discuss the results of the empirical analysis. In the last chapter, I summarize the results, discuss implications, and suggest further research; I also discuss “arriving at identities” as a metaphor to conceptualize *identity* in the utterance.

The empirical chapters three through six are divided according to speakers' linguistic resources, by which I mean verbal resources (Chapter Three: nominals, Chapter Four: pronouns and adverbs, and Chapter Five: verbs of motion) as well as speech mechanisms (Chapter Six: repair). All of them are

resources that speakers use to formulate and negotiate identities: the discussion within each chapter illuminates what these processes of formulating and negotiating involve.

The empirical chapters are arranged according to the principle that each chapter builds on the previous one. Chapter Three, the first empirical chapter, focuses on nominal terminology of place, person, and time. This terminology (e.g., place names, person, and time classifications) is discussed in its impact on positioning people and in its function for the utterance in a specific context. This terminology becomes relevant again in Chapter Four when the focus is on pronouns and adverbs as classifications to formulate identities. Chapter Five on motion verbs draws on this information about adverbs and pronouns. Chapter Six examines the linguistic resources discussed in chapters three through five with a different focus, namely *repair*.

The organization of the empirical chapters has several advantages. First, it invites a comparison between the verbal inventories of chapters three, four, and five. The pronouns, adverbs, and verbs discussed in chapters four and five belong to a group of verbal inventories which traditional linguistics calls *deictics*. I argue that the nominal terminology examined in chapter three also has deictic characteristics and that the separation between deictic and non-deictic cannot be sustained. Second, the processes of formulation and negotiation hold for eastern as well as western Germans. Therefore, a division into chapters for eastern Germans vs. western Germans would be artificial. There are, however, functional differences for eastern and western Germans in the usage of the linguistic resources that I will discuss in each chapter and summarize in Chapter Seven.

Third, I discuss the classifications of place, person, and time within each chapter rather than splitting the chapters into these three categories. This unified discussion makes it possible to see their interaction in individual data segments, where other classifications are always alternatives, though functionally different. The splitting of the material into the four empirical chapters was necessary for the purpose of analysis. In no way does it do justice to the complex nature of the speech situation. The overlap between the chapters reflects this complexity.

Chapter Two: Data: German Talk Shows

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The data this dissertation draws on are verbal interactions in German talk shows. The analysis for this dissertation is based on a corpus of forty hours of talk shows.³⁸ All of these talk shows aired on German television between 1989 and 1994. While this time period resonates in the person formulations that are the focus of this dissertation, this period is also reflected in the genre of these talk shows. The purpose of the present chapter is to describe this genre in its importance for the formulation of identities. I will also touch on the impact of talk shows on unification as well as on the relationship between media and language change. The main goal of this dissertation, however, is to investigate classifications of place, person, and time. It does not intend to offer a comprehensive analysis of the function of the media during unification.

Talk shows, as I hope to demonstrate with this study, offer rich material for studies on the relationship between language and identity. For a linguistic study that examines this relationship, talk shows have advantages over everyday conversation as data. However, they also have shortcomings that I will discuss in this chapter.

³⁸ I am indebted to the *Institut für deutsche Sprache (IDS)* in *Mannheim* and the *Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk (MDR)* for making this data available to me. I am especially thankful to Werner Kallmeyer and Wilfried Schütte from the *Institut* and Mr. Enders from the *MDR* in Dresden.

2.2 TALK SHOWS AS DATA

2.2.1 Choice of data

In order to study classifications of place, person, and time between 1989 and 1994 in face-to-face interactions, my search for data other than recorded everyday conversations was at first a pragmatic consideration. My choice of talk shows resulted from the search for material that would provide rich data to analyze the intersection between language, individual, and national identities.

The pragmatic search was due to the obstacle that everyday conversations are non-permanent if they are not recorded. When I started to develop the topic for my dissertation in 1994, I decided that I wanted to analyze conversations from the time period briefly after the opening of the border between the GDR and the FRG. In 1994, however, this event was already four years past. In general, records of past everyday conversations, in contrast to written records, are not easily available.³⁹

German talk shows provided not only a real alternative to recorded everyday conversations, but offered a complexity for the study of language, individual, and society that everyday conversations generally do not have. The media context provides yet another component in the linguistic analysis. This component, in fact, turned out to be an advantage for the object of study, the classifications of place, person, and time.

³⁹ Scholars dedicated to the analysis of everyday conversation in general face this problem if they want to work with conversational material from a past period.

2.2.2 Selection criteria

2.2.2.1 *Period*

I searched for talk shows aired during the time period of the social changes in East and West Germany. While most talk shows aired after November 9, 1989, I included talk shows from before that time as data to allow for a comparison between formulations before and after November 9, 1989. Since time of speaking is a factor in my analysis, I tried to cover as broad a time frame as possible, and selected talk shows until 1994. Though the most dramatic period of social changes seemed to be the time of 1989 and 1990, the linguistic processes I found and describe in this dissertation are as intriguing in the later talk shows as in the earlier ones.

2.2.2.2 *Stations*

The research for this dissertation draws on talk shows from TV stations in eastern and western Germany, though most of the talk shows were produced by western German TV stations (cf. section 2.7.1). I selected talk shows from eastern as well as western TV stations for two reasons. First, I hoped to find eastern German talk show hosts on eastern German talk shows (which was hardly the case) to possibly find different power constellations between the panel and studio guests and the talk shows host (cf. 2.7.3). Second, since eastern German talk shows were recorded in eastern Germany, I could assume that settings and television audiences were different than with western German talk shows. Since

settings and audiences were to play a role in my analysis, I wanted a comparison between shows with different settings and different audiences.

The kind of station (whether regional or national, private or public-law broadcast) did not play a role as a selection criterion. However, I consider these criteria as a factor in the analysis, whenever they become relevant.

2.2.2.3 *Topics*

I selected specific talk shows for topical considerations. I was looking for talk shows that contained discussions addressing the changes in Germany. In my search, I found the titles and subtitles of the talk shows helpful since, in most cases, they indicated the topic of the discussion.

2.2.2.4 *Genre and style*

As a further selection criterion, I considered the genre and style of the talk show. I selected political discussion shows rather than personality shows (cf. 2.2.3) because the latter have less interaction and if they do, these are mostly interviews between the host and a VIP. My goal was to find talk shows that also had non-VIPs as conversationalists. I was interested in shows that had not only politicians and VIPs but also people on the show who were not known to the larger public and who were not used to speaking in public. Therefore, I tried to select shows that allowed studio guests⁴⁰ to participate as conversationalists.

⁴⁰ I distinguish terminologically between television audiences and studio audiences. For the latter, I also use the term studio guests, whether or not they are allowed to participate, but I distinguish them from panel guests.

Another selection criterion was the participation of both eastern and western Germans as panel guests on the shows. Face-to-face encounters between eastern and western Germans had been rare on talk shows until then (see section 2.7.1) as well as in general (see section 1.3.1). My impression from personal experience was that formulations of identities were especially interesting and contested in interactions between eastern and western Germans.

2.2.3 Terminological considerations and description of the talk shows

The label "talk show" is quite vague. It describes a variety of television shows, from personality shows to political discussion shows. The concept of a talk show seems even more opaque when applied across different cultural contexts; talk shows in the US may be different from talk shows in Germany. In the following, I review German⁴¹ and US American literature (Nelson and Robinson 1994; Priest 1995; Mühlen 1985; Schwitalla 1993) in order to discuss terminology and to describe my data in more detail.

Mühlen's (1985: 20) distinction between "personality shows" and other kinds of talk shows is helpful in describing the German talk shows that provided for my data. According to Mühlen, personality shows are characterized by the goal of the talk show host to entertain while other talk shows are based on discussion. In these latter talk shows, the host fosters controversy among the participants and has the function of a moderator. All of the talk shows I am using

⁴¹ From today's perspective, it is more correct to refer to Mühlen's book (1985) as West German because her study concerns television in the FRG only.

are of the latter kind; they are not personality shows.⁴² The talk shows host, besides being moderator, is sometimes active participant in my talk shows and is labeled with an identity other than her or his role as talk show host (see section 2.7.3).

All of the data I chose are from evening talk shows. While the term “evening talk show” indicates the time the show is aired, I also use the term in contrast to “daytime talk show.” The latter usually feature topics of a private nature, while evening talk shows often address political, cultural, and social topics. In my data, the changes in Germany are either explicitly the topic of the program, i.e. indicated by the title of the show, or are made the topic during the discussions in talk shows.

The talk shows I chose can be differentiated in their selection of guests and in their allowance for active⁴³ audience participation. Guests can be from many sectors of society: politicians, housewives, actresses, lawyers, students, and teachers. Some of the talk shows, however, have a more specific profile, for example, there may only be politicians as panel guests. In terms of active participation from the studio audience, some of the talk shows such as the *MDR* talk show allow only panel guests to participate in the discussion, even though the studio audience is present and visible. Others allow active participation from anybody in the studio, including guests who have not previously been

⁴² Personality shows also exist in Germany, for example the *Harald-Schmidt-Show* which is clearly based on *Late Night With David Letterman*.

⁴³ By active participation I mean that the studio audience asks questions or takes longer turns to comment. Apart from this kind of participation, the studio audience is always an active listener, and, may also contribute to the conversation through comments, laughter and other kinds of feedback.

introduced.⁴⁴ Thus, the dynamics of conversations on these shows are determined by a variety of more or less involved participants: one or more talk show hosts, panel guests, studio audience (or studio guests), and the television audience at large.⁴⁵

Schwitalla (1995) distinguishes between *Talk-Shows* and *Fernsehdiskussionen* (TV discussion shows), and describes their differences by characterizing talk shows as follows:

VIPs were not invited in order to talk about politics or other topics that are related to their profession. Rather, the guests were the focus as human beings in this media type that is motivated by human interest.
(21; trans. G.L.)⁴⁶

According to Schwitalla, TV discussion shows focus on political and professional topics while talk shows center on the people themselves. For my purposes, I do not make this distinction because politics and human interest overlap in my data. This overlap is due to topics but also because professional speakers and lay people talk together on these talk shows.

An aspect discussed in the literature is whether television talk shows can be considered part of the “public sphere” (Habermas [1962] 1972). Schwitalla (1993) responds negatively to this question and distinguishes between *Fernsehdiskussionen* (TV discussions) and *Diskussionen* (discussions). While the discussion is a “type of talk which is a model for the democratic approach to

⁴⁴ This kind of active audience participation is especially typical for talk shows between November 1989 and March 1990.

⁴⁵ In none of the shows is the TV audience an active participant as is sometimes the case with call-ins.

⁴⁶ Prominente Gäste wurden nun nicht mehr eingeladen, um über Politik oder Themen zu reden, die mit ihrer Berufsrolle zusammenhängen, sondern die Gäste standen als Menschen im Mittelpunkt dieses ganz vom Human-interest motivierten Sendetyps. (Schwitalla 1995:21)

come to political decisions" (Schwitalla: 20, quoting Dieckmann 1981: trans. G.L.),⁴⁷ he describes *Fernsehdiskussionen*⁴⁸ as argumentative and misused by politicians for their own purposes. For example, the latter contain "speech acts to attract voters for their [the politicians'] political agenda and to caution them against the political opposition party" (Schwitalla 1993: 20: trans. G.L.).⁴⁹ It seems that discussions before a television audience (e.g., talk shows) are always about the promotion of interests, which can be political, professional, and private interests. Politicians and other professionals may have professionalized such promotion;⁵⁰ individuals, however, also promote certain ideas, values, and images. Thus, it is characteristic for talk shows to be public performances. Even if the talk shows I discuss have serious topics, they are nonetheless performances.

Related to the performance aspect is another characteristic of the genre talk show, and broadcasting in general, namely that it is primarily entertainment (Postman 1986; Holly and Püschel 1993; Goffman 1981). In fact, entertainment may be part of any political discussion if audiences are involved;⁵¹ the democratic model of a discussion, as Schwitalla describes it, may only be possible without audiences. However, the German talk shows used as data, especially those between 1989 and 1990, tend to focus less on the entertainment aspect. The

⁴⁷ "Die Diskussion ist der Gesprächstyp, der für eine demokratische Herausbildung von politischen Entscheidungen Vorbildcharakter hat." (Schwitalla:20, quoting Dieckmann 1981)

⁴⁸ As an example for *Fernsehdiskussionen*, Schwitalla mentions the *Bonner Runde*, which is a talk show where politicians from Bonn (the former German capital) are panel guests.

⁴⁹ "Sprechhandlungen des Werbens für die eigene Politik und des Warnens vor der politischen Gegenpartei" (Schwitalla 1993: 20).

⁵⁰ Talk shows are also used as a marketing space, for example, for authors to promote their new books.

⁵¹ Burckhardt (1993), in his study on hecklings and interruptions in parliamentary debates, argues that they could potentially instigate critical debate, but that they are used more casually to get attention and to elicit witty commentaries that evoke laughter.

subtle verbal arguments over the representation of the world and the sudden loss of a common system of reference and common presuppositions makes verbal interaction a central focus. Confrontation⁵² and sensationalism⁵³ seem to be less a factor in the production of these talk shows than in later German talk shows. The German historical context and the topic of the talk shows I use as data make them rather serious discussions couched within a talk show format.⁵⁴

2.3 THE TALK SHOW AND THE COMMUNITY

The talk show is a genre that is intertwined with the national community in engaging ways. In considering the role of the media for national identity in general and German national identity in particular, I hope to provide a better picture of identity formulations in the emerging social space “Germanness.” I am particularly interested in the question how “real” the talk show is in terms of representing the community. I now turn to literature that discusses the selection processes of guests on the shows as well as the relationship of guests to their national community.

Anderson ([1983] 1994) develops an influential argument about the impact of media on the sense of national identity. He traces the beginnings of nation-states back to print capitalism. According to Anderson, print capitalism fostered the rise of national identity by creating an “imagined community,” i.e. a

⁵² Confrontation could be implied, for example, if the chairs are arranged so that panel guests from two oppositional parties directly faced each other, as in the US talk show *Politically Incorrect*.

⁵³ cf. Nelson and Robinson (1994)

⁵⁴ It was pointed out to me that these shows may be similar to the US genre of the “town hall meeting,” such as those broadcast during political campaigns.

sense of belonging that could be shared with people of the same community and a sense of difference that distinguished it from other communities. Anderson argued that print capitalism is at the center of the formation of national identities. This argument is particularly important to any discussion of changing German identities since 1989. As has been pointed out by Deppendorf (1990), among others, German print media and broadcasting played an important role in creating a new sense of "Germanness."

The flip side of Anderson's argument is that print media, and similarly television, understand their function as producing for the community. In fact, the economic survival of television depends on attracting as many audiences⁵⁵ as possible. They include the audiences of the broadcasting area, of the regional and national community. In order to attract these audiences, television professionals have to reflect on which audiences are part of the community targeted by the individual program.⁵⁶ The selection of panel and studio guests on talk shows⁵⁷ is certainly an important factor in attracting audiences. Individuals among TV audiences may identify with panel guests. For example, they may see themselves in the same membership category as panel guests. The selection of panel guests may be an indication about the kinds of audiences the talk show production team.

⁵⁵ Following Fiske, I consider the audience to be a heterogeneous and active (rather than passive) group. This approach differs from more traditional schools, like the Frankfurt school, which views the audience as a mass audience (Adorno 1947).

⁵⁶ Opinion polls conducted by TV stations testify this need to know about audiences.

⁵⁷ Munson (1993) notes that there is a professional (mostly a woman) called "booker" who is responsible for the selection of both the studio audiences and the panel guests on talk shows.

The selection criteria for guests may include the guests' social identities, which may reflect the character of the community.⁵⁸

By selecting guests from the community for talk shows, television produces an image of the community that is, however, not a reflection of the wider speech community. It may be mistaken for such,⁵⁹ because the selection process is obscured and the criteria for selection are usually not made public. Television sometimes appears to be an "essentially realistic medium because of its ability to carry a socially convincing sense of the real" (Fiske 1994: 21). This realistic image seems to hold especially for talk shows since the guests are "real" people and not all of them are media-professionals. However, not everybody from the community has equal opportunity to participate as a panel or a studio guest.⁶⁰ The selection made by media professionals determines who gets to speak and who does not, and who gets seen by the community at large and who does not.⁶¹

Whoever is selected as participant on a talk show, however, gets a chance to speak and a chance to present their images of the community in formulating identities. In a study of daytime talk shows in the US, Priest (1995) notes that people can speak up who do not usually find themselves represented on other TV shows, because "deviant personalities" are allowed on talk shows (76). Priest (1995) sees talk shows as a site where different positions are negotiated:

⁵⁸ For example, MDR's production team told me that they choose an equal number of people from eastern Germany and from western Germany as panel guests. (personal communication)

⁵⁹ This can be especially problematic for minorities when the (mainstream) community sees TV as a mirror of the community.

⁶⁰ Munson (1993) mentions that talk radio hosts avoid having elderly people on the radio: they select by screening the calls first.

⁶¹ For example, immigrants in Germany are hardly ever guests on talk shows.

Taking an active role in self-definition is an act of resistance to society's definitions of one's group and to demarcations pertaining to the boundary lines that separate normalcy from deviancy. (108)

When guests appear on the show and speak up, they make themselves heard, even though the reasons for speaking may be different for different people.⁶² On some talk shows, studio guests are also active participants, which allows for an even broader and even less controlled participation in the discussion. In addition, talk show hosts, though representatives of the TV station, also have individual voices that they can foreground or background (see also section 2.7.2).

Some implications for my project can be drawn. If television has an impact on the formation of national identities at a time when there are competing visions of national identities, who gets to speak and who does not is important. In addition, since meaning in face-to-face interaction is co-constructed by the parties (Vygotsky 1962), it matters who else is on the show and who succeeds in speaking up. If media, and in particular spoken interaction, has an impact on shaping the image of national identity, what is the role individuals have in shaping this image? How is this image "negotiated" and which role do individual identity formulations play in this negotiation? I can assume, first, that the talk show is a space where individuals may voice a position in relation to the larger community. Second, participants, including guests as well as media-professionals, formulate their images of the community. Third, guests may see themselves as

⁶² Priest (1995), interviewing participants on day time shows, says that the reasons people speak on the show are manifold. She distinguishes four main cases: to be on television (the "moths," 47), to receive sanction by the people for their deviant behavior (the "plaintiffs," 49), to market themselves or their companies (the "marketers," 52), to help promote their group's acceptance (the "evangelicals," 53).

representatives of groups rather than as individuals since they know that they have been selected based on certain criteria related to their personality or social identity.

2.4 THE TALK SHOW AS SPEECH SITUATION

2.4.1 Imagining overhearers

In contrast to everyday conversation, participants on talk shows are confronted with the difficulty that television audiences are not visible to them. In every conversation, as Levelt ([1989] 1993) points out, speakers monitor their speech directly as well as indirectly by attending to their interlocutors' reactions. On talk shows, speakers can attend to reactions from the studio audience (though these reactions may also be restricted in comparison to everyday conversation): in fact, speakers often provoke reactions (e.g., laughter). However, speakers can only "imagine" their TV audiences; their speech is one-directional without feedback from their TV audiences. Speakers take higher risks in what they say since their interlocutors' reactions are not immediately available to help them negotiate meaning, to reassess what is said, or to attend to others' values (for example, by mitigating their own opinion). Schwitalla (1993) summarizes this characteristic of talk shows as follows:

On the one hand, they [the talk shows] should be shows, i.e. conversations that are performed and recorded facing a double audience, which makes the consequences of a each mistake more weighty. (22, trans. G.L.)⁶³

⁶³ Einerseits sollen sie [die Talk-Shows] Shows sein, d.h. vor- und aufgeführte Gespräche vor einem doppelten Publikum, das die Folgen jedes Fehlers schwerwiegender macht. (Schwitalla 1993: 22)

Not part of such “mistakes” are technical influences which the audience lets pass without particular notice (Goffmann 1981: 253). The mistakes Schwitalla refers to can only be those that Goffmann (208) calls *slips*, *boners*, and *gaffes*.⁶⁴ According to Goffmann (1981), speakers sometimes produce these “mistakes” voluntarily, and audiences may, in any case, attend to them through laughter since “laughing at ‘incompetence’ is part of what the show is all about” (ibid.: 253). Thus, while Schwitalla seems to argue for the “social control model,” Goffman critiques this model and points out that audiences are seen to have functions other than “controlling” speech production (see also Chapter Six).

2.4.2 Between structure and chance

Conversation in talk shows is a mixture between institutional talk and everyday conversation.⁶⁵ It follows rules that are different from everyday conversation; for example, the topic of the conversation may be determined in advance, and the agenda may be set in advance. Producers (sometimes including talk show hosts) structure the talk show. The topic and, often, though not always, the agenda of a talk show are determined in advance. Some talk shows indicate the topic through the title or subtitle, but others do not.⁶⁶ The talk show hosts

⁶⁴ *Slips* are “words or their parts which have gotten mixed up, or mis-uttered” (Goffmann 1981: 209). *Boners* are “evidence of some failing in the intellectual grasp and achievement required within official or otherwise cultivated circle” (ibid.). *Gaffes* are unintended and unknowing breaches in ‘manners’ or some norm of ‘good’ conduct”(210).

⁶⁵ See Nofsinger (1991) for a description of everyday conversation and Heritage (1992) for a comprehensive collection of essays studying institutional talk.

⁶⁶ The *MDR* talk show *Riverboat*, for example, does not have a subtitle that indicates the topic of the discussion.

have institutional power to supervise the topic and the agenda.⁶⁷ Talk show hosts can further exercise power by deciding who gets to speak next. For example, they can assign a speaker a next turn and prevent others from speaking.⁶⁸

As a particular media genre, talk shows also have non-institutional characteristics; for example, individual (not institutional) identities of guests are foregrounded, guests may not be trained for their roles as speakers, and conversations may diverge from the pre-established topic and agenda. Speakers, in their understanding of their roles on the show and their expertise in certain areas, may choose or volunteer to speak.⁶⁹ The interaction between participants in talk shows cannot always be completely controlled by the talk show host. There are certainly talk shows where the conversation gets out of (the talk show hosts') control and turns into a heated debate where more than one person speaks at a time. On occasion, a participant may even drop out of the conversation.⁷⁰

The institution has no control over exactly what a participant says or does, except by cutting such objectionable parts in the editing process⁷¹ if the talk show

⁶⁷ Though this seems like a contrast to everyday conversation, the latter may also occur in contexts where some participants have more power over turn-taking than others. In fact, Bourdieu (1994) argues that conversation is always asymmetrical, i.e. always governed by power relations.

⁶⁸ In addition to the talk show host, the camera also seems to have some power over turn-taking. The focus of the camera may force the talk show host to grant the floor to the person who is in the camera's focus. I will not further discuss this aspect in my present study.

⁶⁹ Nelson and Robinson (1994) allude to the fact that expert knowledge (or perceived expert knowledge) may exert influence on the turn-taking system; that is, it may determine who gets the next turn (66).

⁷⁰ In one of the talk shows from my data, an invited panel guest stands up in the middle of a conversation, announces that she is leaving because she considers this a tribunal, takes off her microphone, and leaves the studio.

⁷¹ Although I am aware that talk shows from my data may have been edited, for the purpose of my study, it is not important if the talk show has been edited or if conversations have been rehearsed in advance. My analysis focuses on conversations as they appear on television. If conversations have been rehearsed in advance, it may even be an advantage for my analysis. In rehearsing, speakers have time to reflect on their selection of words with which they symbolically

is not broadcast live.⁷² On live broadcasts, talk show hosts run higher risks that a speaker may say something that is not favorable. This risk seems higher if talk show hosts assign turns to somebody whom they do not know. While panel guests are known or are introduced and are, therefore, also known to talk show hosts, talk show hosts may assign turns to speakers they do not know. Since these latter speakers have less to lose than VIPs, because they may never appear in public again, they may also say something that the program does not favor. Though talk show hosts can never predict what some speaker says, they may take higher risks if they choose a non-VIP speaker. This unpredictability probably holds the greatest appeal for audiences and proves the most challenging for talk show production teams.

The intersection of institutional and non-institutional is a quality that Munson (1993) describes, for purposes different from mine, as follows:

[I]n talk shows, chance meets structure and professional meets amateur in such a way that the producers can manufacture spectacle of 'prime-time' quality. (149)

The structure and professional aspects are related to the institutional elements of talk shows, whereas chance and amateurs provide the speech situation with non-institutional elements. The peculiar intersection of chance and structure and professional and amateur affects the speech situation.

interpret the world. Often, the non-rehearsed nature of the data is revealed by self-repairs (see Chapter Six).

⁷² Among the (West) German talk shows that Mühlen (1985) uses in her study, all but one are broadcasted live (2). Mühlen points out that live broadcast is no guarantee for spontaneous conversations, because live programs can be planned in advance (25).

2.4.3 Between professionals and non-professionals

The talk show is a genre where private as well as professional life experiences are topicalized. Fairclough (1995) calls this process “conversationalization,” which he describes as “mixing the public world of science and technology with a voice from ordinary life” (9). While the “professional” and the “private” world intersect on talk shows in terms of topics, they also intersect in terms of participants’ speech styles. These participants may be non-professional speakers and not politicians or actresses who are accustomed to public speaking. This is what I understand Munson to mean by the meeting of the “professional” and the “amateur.” Since amateurs are not trained and have little or no experience in public speaking, the intimidation factor when speaking on talk shows may be higher for them than for professionals or it may be less because making a mistake has no consequences. In addition, speakers not trained in public speaking may have fewer resources with which to manipulate their speech and to address different audiences at a time.⁷³

The appearance of professional and non-professional speakers on talk shows has the effect that different speech styles mingle. Professionals are trained to speak a variety close to the standard language (though they may choose to speak a variety other than the standard); their rhetorical training and awareness may influence their selection among different words. In contrast, non-

⁷³ Holly and Püschel (1993) mention that politicians and managers are trained to leave open which audiences they address. The authors do not, however, note the same about talk show hosts. It seems an interesting question, though not the focus of the present study, what training talk show hosts receive in public speaking.

professional speakers may speak the standard variety, a dialect, or a variety other than the standard; their speech style may employ a more colloquial vocabulary.

When these speech styles come together on the same talk show, they may be perceived as contrasting, and may even “level out.”⁷⁴ Fluck (1993) notes that the language of the German media has drifted towards more colloquial usage over the past years. In reference to the program genre *Magazin*⁷⁵ he notes:

[In the media genre *Magazin*], an informal speech style developed that is getting closer to oral language and gives the impression of spontaneity and liveliness. (94; trans. G.L.)⁷⁶

The change that Fluck notes may be due to the participation of non-professionals in media genres such as the talk show. Talk shows, since they occupy a considerable amount of people’s viewing time, may have, as I discuss in the next section, an effect on changing the ways we interact and speak on and off TV.

2.5 MEDIA AND LANGUAGE CHANGE

Changes in classifications of person, place, and time, which are my focus in this dissertation, are part of a larger process of language change. It is a phenomenon that results from the social changes in East and West Germany. Though language change is not the main focus of my dissertation, it is certainly an aspect for further study. In this dissertation, however, I will only touch on the subject. In my data, there seem to be three kinds of linguistic change: semantic

⁷⁴ “Levelling out” may happen, for example, when speakers co-select terms.

⁷⁵ *Magazin* is the German name for a program that consists of short, informative pieces, including interviews, reports, documentaries. In some ways, it is similar to talk shows.

⁷⁶ “So hat sich [in Magazinen] ein informeller Sprachstil entwickelt, der sich den Strukturen der gesprochenen Sprache annähert und den Eindruck von Spontanität und Lebendigkeit vermittelt.” (Fluck 1993: 94)

change, lexical change, and pragmatic change. Both eastern and western Germans are equally involved in these changes,⁷⁷ though different vocabulary may be affected.

In my analysis of interactions, I have observed how people realize language change in the speech situation. Since a language only changes if people change it (Milroy and Milroy 1985), such an analysis may reveal mechanisms speakers use in changing a language. Negotiation of old and new words and meanings in individual speech situations certainly have an impact on language change and language maintenance overall.

According to Milroy and Milroy (1985), there are two mechanisms that encourage language maintenance. The first mechanism is “*covert and informal* pressure for language maintenance, which is exerted by members of one’s peer-group or social group” (57). The second mechanism is the “*overt and institutional* enforcement of norms through public channels such as the educational and broadcasting systems” (57). Both mechanisms, as I will show in the discussion of my data, have an impact on language change. They can both be realized, for example, as the co-selection of terms. The second mechanism regards the broadcasting system itself. Since the talk show host has a professional role, guests may co-select the same identity formulations as the talk show host. They may consider the talk show host to be representative of the norms of the broadcasting system.

⁷⁷ This assessment is not regarding the quantity of changes but the quality. In terms of quantity, which is not my focus, I assume that eastern Germans have undergone more changes during the period of my study, not only linguistically but in every aspect of life.

Milroy points out that where there is change, there is generally resistance to change. Since my data capture a period of language change as well as social change, I should also be able to observe phenomena of resistance to language change.

2.6 ADVANTAGES AND LIMITS OF TALK SHOWS AS DATA FOR THE PROJECT

2.6.1 Advantages

For an analysis like mine, the performance element is key to the study of identities. Participants may feel they have to enact the role they were invited to perform, or they may reject this role. This performance element may prompt them to formulate identities for themselves that are then, as with every conversation, rejected or accepted by others or reformulated by themselves. In addition, since speakers have to position themselves vis a vis a public audience, and must perform their identity, identity formulation can be assumed to be more frequent in talk shows than in everyday conversation.

In speaking on television, speakers often address their imagined group of audiences. They use classifications for this group and may formulate their inclusion in or exclusion from these groups. Speakers and interlocutors may also attend to this audience.⁷⁸

Since speakers may select consciously among classifications because they speak on television, they may make an effort to employ the most proper, the most

⁷⁸ Interlocutors may do so through gesture and eye gaze.

provocative, or the most polite etc. classification. This is another advantage for my analysis.

2.6.2 Limits

While there are advantages of using talk shows as data for a study on formulations of identities, there are also limits or disadvantages of talk shows as compared to everyday conversation. Most of them have to do with the institutional nature of talk show interaction.

The institutional character of the talk show confines the negotiation of identities in ways not common in everyday conversation. In verbal interactions, meaning is co-constructed between speakers and interlocutors. This co-construction is limited on talk shows because speakers cannot always speak up as they wish. Turns are often allotted by talk show hosts or even by the person who carries the microphone or by the camera.⁷⁹

The co-construction of meaning in everyday conversation encompasses speakers repairing⁸⁰ each others' turns. On talk shows, interlocutors cannot as easily initiate repair on somebody else's turn. Repair may be possible if a panel discussion has a structure that allows for free discussion. On most talk shows, however, the talk show host allots turns, and the institutional character of talk shows requires speakers to "ask" for their turns before they can speak. Other-initiated repair⁸¹ with questions such as "What do you mean by that?" seem also

⁷⁹ Cf. footnote 32.

⁸⁰ Repair is a speech mechanism that allows the speaker or others to clarify information, and prevent and resolve misunderstandings as well as negotiate inclusion and exclusion to groups, and reject and assert positions. See Chapter Six for a longer discussion on repair.

⁸¹ See section 6.2.

to occur less frequent on talk shows than in everyday conversation. For the contested nature of identity formulations in my data, such a question would possibly instigate an argument and point to fights over representations of the social world.

2.7 THE DATA: "GERMAN" TALK SHOWS

2.7.1 A brief historical overview

Before 1989, the talk show as a genre was common in the FRG. In contrast, it was basically non-existent in the GDR before September of that year, which could be due to the censored and state-controlled character of the media.⁸² It could also be that the talk show was considered an American genre that was rejected in the GDR, while it was accepted in the FRG.

In the FRG, the first talk shows aired in the 70s, about twenty years later than talk shows on US television (Mühlen 1985: 15).⁸³ Mühlen (1985) identifies the first (West) German talk show⁸⁴ as *Je später der Abend* (The longer the evening), which first aired on March 4, 1973. Mühlen further records that the first show with only one talk show host, as opposed to a team of hosts, was *Heut' abend* (Tonight) with Joachim Fuchsberger, first aired in July 1980. This show can probably be considered the first personality show in the FRG.

⁸² Likely, the government feared that competing images of the community would get promoted.

⁸³ Munson (1995) gives an overview of the development of talk show culture in the US since the 60s. The author also discusses talk radio since the 30s as a precursor to television talk shows.

⁸⁴ Mühlen refers to this talk show as "erste Talkshow des deutschen Fernsehens" (first talk show of German television; trans. G.L.), in which *deutsche* (German) denotes the FRG.

After November 1989, talk show culture in West Germany changed radically. Talk shows began to be produced in and broadcasted from cities in East Germany. As a result, panel guests as well as studio and television audiences changed. Though the production team was still almost exclusively from West Germany, people from East Germany were invited as panel guests⁸⁵ and also partially or fully formed the studio audience, depending on the city chosen as the production site. The TV audience for television from the FRG had always, even before November 1989, included people in the GDR.⁸⁶ This audience, which programs in the FRG could treat as overhearers from another country before 1989, received an active status after 1989 when the thematic focus of talk shows shifted predominantly to the future of the two German states and thus also to people in the East German community.

In East Germany, *Elf 99*,⁸⁷ which had started on September 1, 1989, was the only program similar to a talk show.⁸⁸ It was intended for young people and presented a mix of interviews, panel discussions, music performances, and brief documentaries. As a result of the *Abwicklung*⁸⁹ of the East German broadcasting

⁸⁵ Though *Übersiedler* (people who left the GDR to live in the FRG) may have been present on talk shows in the FRG before November 1989.

⁸⁶ In most areas in the GDR, except the area around Dresden, households could receive TV broadcasts from stations in the FRG.

⁸⁷ The title *elf 99* was chosen for the zip code 1199 Berlin-Adlershof (the old zip code), where the show was produced.

⁸⁸ *Elf 99* overall is closer to a *Magazin* (cf. footnote 39), but it is partly talk show.

⁸⁹ *Abwicklung* in general means "liquidation." However, it became an often-used word after unification in reference to a legal and juridical process of turning East German into West German social structure.

system after unification on October 3, 1990, *Elf 99* stopped airing on March. 26. 1994. The *MDR*⁹⁰ talk show *MDR-Club*⁹¹ went on air starting January 3. 1992.

2.7.2 *Wende*⁹² talk shows: challenges and adjustments

During the *Wende*, numerous talk shows addressed the opening of the borders and the changes in East and West Germany.⁹³ These talk shows were produced by East German as well as West German TV stations, though the latter certainly produced the larger number. As Deppendorf (1990) points out, East Germany was unfamiliar terrain for West German talk show production teams. The studio and panel guests were from different countries, though they may have been perceived as sharing one community and one national identity with West Germany. Among the conversationalists, there were East German speakers who had never been in front of a camera and spoke past instead of to the camera. In addition, some of the studio guests had no respect for public broadcasting and treated the talk show as a drinking occasion.⁹⁴ Also, with the changing social contexts from euphoria about the opening of the border to a clash between

⁹⁰ *MDR* stands for *Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk*. It is a broadcasting company which serves Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, and Thuringia in eastern Germany.

⁹¹ When it went on air, it had the subtitle *Die Riverboat Talkshow* that later became the title.

⁹² *Wende* means turning point. It became a common term in reference to the period of the social changes in Germany from 1989 to 1990.

⁹³ Kurz (1996) notes: "In jener Umbruchszeit stieg der Fernsehkonsum stieg deutlich an" (13) (During the changes, the TV consumption increased tremendously., trans. G.L.) In a footnote, he adds: "[es] hieß damals 'TV leads print.'" (ibid.) ([it] was said at the time that 'tv leads print.'. trans. G.L.)

⁹⁴ In one of the talk shows produced in Erfurt, East Germany, by a West German TV station, somebody among the studio guests who seems to be drunk and talks very loudly disturbs the talk show. The talk show host asks several times to "please, not disturb the talk show since the conversation can hardly be understood" but cannot quiet down the disturbance throughout the entire show. The talk show host does not exercise any more power than asking the studio audience politely to be quiet.

cultures, the resentment among the East German talk show guests to anything or anybody that was West German (including the talk show hosts) grew.

Particularly during the time of the *Wende*, West German talk show hosts were confronted with situations they did not seem to be prepared for. They represented West Germany, not just themselves or their TV stations, and sometimes seemed unprepared for an emotionally-laden atmosphere, for an undisciplined studio audience, and for speakers in search for new words and new meanings.⁹⁵

At the time, talk show hosts sometimes made reference to discussions as being “real” rather than staged,⁹⁶ as in the following segment:

Data segment 2.1:

DDR-wohin? (DN 74), November 19, 1989

place: Leipzig (East Germany)

Z... Zimmermann (East German studio guest)

TS1... Talk show host (West German)

TS2... Talk show host (West German)

- 1 Z: wir wollen zugehen auf eine demokratische Republik
 we want to move towards a democratic republic
- 2 Deutschland .hh wirklich ein neues Deutschland
 Germany .hh really a new Germany
- 3 und da wünschte ich mir daß das Gespräch darüber
 and I wished that the conversation about that would
- 4 noch geführt wird dankeschön
 still take place that you
- 5 TS1: mit diesem Satz geben wir jetzt wieder zurück in
 with this sentence we will return again

⁹⁵ Many speakers from the GDR struggle with finding their voice in new types of discourses. (Kramsch, to appear)

⁹⁶ Rovit (1995) characterizes the media and theater performances at the time as “social drama” rather performances.

6 die Runde zu Hans Jürgen Rosenbauer
to the guests with Hans Jürgen Rosenbauer

7 TS2: **ja meine Damen und Herren eh das ist auch für uns**
well ladies and gentlemen uhm it is also for us

8 **eine ungewöhnliche Situation hier** muss ich sagen
a strange situation here I must say

9 denn das ist keine Talkshow wo es hart zugeht wo
because this is not a harsh talk show where

10 **Meinungen aufeinander prallen** sondern das ist wirklich
opinions collide with each other but this really is

11 **Realität** und deswegen gehts auch etwas ungewöhnlich
reality and thats why the questioning is also

12 mit den Befragungen
somehow strange

In data segment 2.1, TS 2 refers to the talk show situation as *Realität* (l.11). TS 2 contrasts *Realität* with talk shows where *Meinungen aufeinander prallen* (l. 10).

During the *Wende*, West German journalists saw their task as “helping out” East Germany with a western documentation of events by providing supposedly uncensored, immediate news coverage, as the following text by a West German journalist illustrates:

During the Elections for the East German parliament *Volkskammer* [on March, 18,1990], we produced programs for the citizens in the GDR. And we produced these programs intentionally. We knew that the GDR-TV — or better: we assumed that the GDR TV — had not planned such spontaneous and also critical programs for (or with) citizens... This was a piece of life and election support for the citizens in the GDR. (Deppendorf 1990: 353; trans. G.L.)⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Bei der Volkskammerwahl haben wir Sendungen gemacht für die Bürger in der DDR. Und diese Sendungen haben wir bewußt gemacht. Wir wußten, daß das DDR-Fernsehen — oder besser: wir haben gehant, daß das DDR-Fernsehen — solche spontanen und auch kritischen Bürgersendungen nicht plante.... Dies war ein Stück Lebens- und Wahlhilfe für die Bürger in der DDR. (Deppendorf 1990: 353)

In this quotation, Deppendorf rightly asserts that the GDR media were not spontaneous and not critical. Since the beginning of the *Wende*, however, the GDR media had started to reform; some programs changed abruptly to more openness and more critical journalism. *Elf 99* was one such program that represented more critical and more spontaneous broadcast journalism.

The overall role of television during the *Wende* is not the focus of this dissertation. However, in analyzing formulations of identities, I will also touch on the impact television had on these formulations and, vice versa, the impact these formulations had on the image of national identity at large.

2.7.3 Between roles, personal and national identities

Participants on talk shows are certainly aware of their respective roles⁹⁸ as talk show hosts, panel guests, and studio guests. In addition, guests may know or assume why they were invited to the show, which is usually some aspect of their expertise, experience, or social identity. Often, the introductions of guests at the beginning of a show formulate the apparent, explicit, or given reason for inviting a particular guest. Also, some guests may see the reason for their invitation related to the topic of the show.

Talk show hosts are certainly defined by their professional roles. In my data, however, talk show hosts are often identified, and identify themselves, as representatives of groups (eastern and western Germans), as in the following three

⁹⁸ In contrast to *identity*, I use the term *role* in relation to identities which are determined by institutions. Roles become relevant for individuals in certain institutional contexts.

data segments 2.2 to 2.4. In data segment 2.2. H makes the talk show host's West German identity relevant rather than her role as talk show host.

Data segment 2.2:

Fragezeichen, March 21, 1990

place: Erfurt (East Germany)

H... Pfarrer Hartmann (from Erfurt, East Germany)

TS... Talk show host (from Mainz, West Germany)

- 1 H: da müssen wir jetzt als Kirche und als Gesellschaft-
 we now must as church and as society-
- 2 >als neue Gesellschaft (hier) in unserem Land< etwas
 >as new society (here) in our country< build
- 3 völlig total Neues aufbauen und da müssen **Sie** uns n
 something completely new and **you** must help us
- 4 ganzes Stück mit helfen
 quite a bit
- 5 TS: mhm
 yes

In data segment 2.3 below, the talk show host herself makes her identity as a West German relevant. The speaker in this segment is an East German panel guest and the place of speaking is West Germany. The speaker stereotypes West Germans as being interested in their personal well-being (by going to Ibiza⁹⁹ on vacation) and as disinterested in the political future. The talk show host responds and makes her West German identity relevant. She formulates herself as a West German who does not go to Ibiza for vacation.

Data segment 2.3:

Nachtcafé (DN 111), September 23, 1989

place: Ludwigsburg (FRG)

TS... talk show host (from the FRG)

BT... Barbara Thalheim (from the GDR)

- 1 BT: hier interessiert überhaupt keen was wäre wenn (.)
 here nobody at all is interested in what was if (.)

⁹⁹ Ibiza is a favorite vacation spot for (well-to-do) German tourists.

- 2 hier interessiert die Leute was is und=s ziemlich
 here people are interested in what is and its pretty
- 3 eindeutig - ich fahre nach Ibiza Schluß
 clear- I will go to Ibiza thats it
- 4 TS: **ich** fahr nich nach Ibiza (.) Herr von Berg
 I will not go to Ibiza (.) Mister von Berg
- 5 empfinden sie das ähnlich,
 do you have a similar experience,

In data segment 2.3, BT stereotypes West Germans as well-to-do tourists who regularly can afford luxury vacations. The talk show hosts contests this generalization by treating it as an individual case using herself as evidence of the generalization's inaccuracy: *ich fahr nich nach Ibiza* (l.4). Here, TS slips out of her role as talk show host and formulates her identity as a person from the FRG. The segment demonstrates that TS formulates herself as part of the group in a situation when some other speaker stereotypes this group. Thus, the emergence of TS's social identity as FRG person appears to be an emotional reaction to a negative stereotyping of a group that she considers herself close to.

While she, like the host in data segment 2.2, gives a quick-witted answer, the West German talk show host in data segment 2.4 has no ready answer to respond to an East German audience member who identifies her as a West German.

Data segment 2.4:

Fragezeichen (DN 123), March 21, 1990
 place: Erfurt (East Germany)

A... speaker from the studio audience (East German)
 TS... talk show host (West German)

- 1 A: ich möchte mal ein Wort an die **Bundesbürger** sagen
 I want to address something to the **West Germans**
- 2 TS: **j:a**
 yes
- 3 A: **wir hier in der DDR** sind genau:so schlau und
 we here in the GDR are just a:s smart and
- 4 genau:so fleißig wie **Ihr** (.) in der Bundesrepublik
 just a:s diligent as **you** (.) in the Federal Republic
- audience strong applause*
 ----->
- 5 TS: (.)

In data segment 2.4, TS's response in line 2 makes her role as talk show host as well as her FRG citizenship relevant. On the one hand, *ja* in line 2. is a go-ahead, a conversational mechanism that grants the floor, which TS can do in her role as a talk show host. On the other hand, *ja* can also be an agreement token, which may be understood as her agreement to A's identification of her as a West German (*Bundesbürger*, l.1). It seems that A identifies TS as a West German because he maintains eye contact with TS throughout this turn (l. 1):¹⁰⁰ A does not speak into the camera. In line 4, A addresses TS again as a representative of West Germans. The applause from the studio audience¹⁰¹ supports A, who defends East Germans as a group against West Germans. The latter are stereotyped as presenting themselves as smarter and more diligent than East Germans.

¹⁰⁰ Goodwin (1979) notes a function of eye gaze in the interaction: "The gaze of a speaker should locate the party being gazed at as an addressee of his utterance" (99).

¹⁰¹ The studio audience most likely has a strong majority of East Germans, since the talk show takes place in Erfurt, East Germany, in March 1990.

This segment comes at the very end of the show: in fact, the talk show host had already announced the end of the show but still grants this speaker his turn. From A's comment, it is obvious that the talk show did not help to lessen any resentments. The speaker as well as the studio audience (through their applause) show their dislike for West Germans, including the talk show host who can possibly be included among the group of West German because of her habitus.

The following segment shows how an eastern German talk show host identifies or positions herself as an eastern German.

Data segment 2.5:

Die Riverboat Talkshow, MDR, April 23, 1994
place: Dresden (eastern Germany)

TS... talk show host (eastern German)

LH... Lotti Huber (western German actress)

- 1 TS: Sie haben ja auch ein Lied mitgebracht ...
 you brought a song with you
- 2 können Sie jetzt mal noch was dazu sagen
 can you just say a few words about it please
- 3 LH: wenn man einen Film erklären muss ist er schon
 if one has to explain a film [then] the film
- 4 Scheisse
 is already bullshit
- 5 TS: es ist nur einfach wichtig zu sagen ich erklär
 it is just important to say I explain myself
- 6 mich nochmal **vor der Wende** hatten **wir** vor allem
 again **before the Wende** **we** had mostly had
- 7 Lotti Huber nur in Talkshows wir haben ihre Filme
 Lotti Huber in talk shows we did not see
- 8 nicht gesehen wir konnten ihre Bücher nicht lesen
 her films we could not read her books

- 9 deshalb ist vielleicht die Information wichtig dass
 thats why the information is important that
- 10 das Lied aus einem Film stammt
 the song is from a film

TS in data segment 2.5 emerges as eastern German through *wir* (1.6). In her turn, she makes her eastern German experience relevant (*vor der Wende*, 1.6).

By foregrounding and topicalizing eastern German experience, speakers can also make the western German identity of the talk show host relevant by excluding him or her from eastern German experience. In data segment 2.6, the talk show host asks the guest a question about her eastern German experience. Instead of the addressed guest, another eastern German guest takes the floor and comments on an eastern German in-group experience.

Data segment 2.6:

Die Riverboat Talkshow, MDR, March 3, 1993
place: Dresden (eastern Germany)

TS... Talk show host (western German)

JH... Jürgen Hart (eastern German)

- TS reads text
----->
- 1 TS: glücklich bin ich in einer Gesellschaft zu leben
 I am happy to live in a society where everybody
- 2 in der jeder wirklich Mensch sein kann (.2) was
 could really be a human being (.2) what
- 3 haben **Sie** denn damit gemeint
 did **you** mean by that
- 4 JH: na solchen Blödsinn haben **wir alle** gesagt (.)
 well **we all** said such stupid things (.)
- 5 machen **Sie** nich noch den Fehler und nehmen
 don't **you** make the mistake now and take

TS, in data segment 2.6, allots the turn to a specific guest (*Sie*. l. 3). However, instead of this guest, JH takes the floor and stresses his in-group affiliations with the other guest, while he excludes TS from this in-group. Again, a speaker makes relevant not the role of the talk show host but the fact that TS is not part of the East German group. Data segment 2.6 evidences the difficulties western German talk show hosts encounter in mediating East German experience to an audience now consisting of eastern and western Germans.

In summary, western German talk show hosts are often taken to “represent” (and embody) the western German community. Especially in cases where the talk show host is the single western German,¹⁰² he or she may represent the “other” group. Perhaps in order to avoid precisely this kind of an identification of the talk show host with the West German community, some West German talk show producers employ Swiss and Austrian talk show hosts. These production teams seem to consider a “neutral” talk show host a better mediator in the cultural conflict between East and West Germans. In data segment 2.7, one of these talk show hosts explicitly formulates his position as “neutral.”

Data segment 2.7:

Streit im Schloß: Live zu einem heißen Thema. Heute: Mitbürger oder Absahner. Das Problem der Aus- und Übersiedler (DN 089), Südwest 3 (SR).

December 23, 1989

place: Saarbrückener Schloß (West German)

¹⁰² I neglect the production team, which may include people from the FRG as well but who are not in sight on the show.

TS... talk show host (Austrian)

- 1 TS: ich bin aus Österreich - ... bin die
 I am from Austria ... I am
- 2 personifizierte Neutralität
 the neutrality personified

Most of the talk show hosts in my data are from western Germany. which has other effects on the formulation of identities; I will discuss these throughout the following chapters.

2.8 Conclusion

From the discussion in this chapter, it is obvious that the media context cannot and should not be neglected in the analysis, in fact, it reveals insights about the emotional nature of identity formulations at the time and about the strong presence of the two categories of eastern and western German. However, this context does not dominate the analysis.

For the study of identity formulations, a consideration of context has the advantage of making the analysis more effective and worthwhile. First, the social changes in East and West Germany at the time had an effect on talk show styles especially in 1989 and 1990. These talk shows can be considered close to discussions (Schwitalla's *Diskussionen*). Second, the categories of East and West German are so powerful that they may even overtake roles such as host and guest. As an effect, place and group names in reference to these social spaces are laden with connotations and stereotypes which becomes an advantage for the analysis. Third, talk show hosts are important subjects for the analysis. They produce most

of the identity formulations due to their roles, for example, in introducing guests. In addition, talk show hosts are interesting because of their mobility. If identity formulation is habitual and since national identity is tied to geographic provenance, this mobility needs special attention in the analysis. It becomes important to attend to the place of speaking not only as studio but also as location within the community.

Chapter Three: Nominals

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is the first of four empirical chapters based on the analysis of data from German talk shows. The focus of the present chapter is nominal identity formulations. These include place names such as *Deutschland* (Germany), person categories such as *Deutsche* (Germans), as well as prepositional phrases with nominals such as *in den letzten Jahren* (during the last years).

The present chapter is intended as an overview of possible German nominal classifications of place, person, and time. These classifications will come up in the other chapters as well. Chapter Six, in particular, discusses some of the classifications examined in the present chapter as targets of a particular speech mechanism (repair).

Nominal identity formulations are ways of labeling groups of people. They formulate the intersection of individual and group identities if they are used with reference to individuals. Since these nominal identity formulations describe individual identities in their relationship to social groups, they require the formations of groups. Participants in the talk shows I have analyzed are confronted with a situation where formerly stable polities representing communities, the GDR and the FRG, become unstable through social changes that lead to unification on October 3, 1990. The classifications for the two communities GDR and FRG and for their people become obsolete and loose the

anchoring they had in the social and political systems of the two countries. Since East Germany and West Germany compete as social spaces after 1989, these classifications then evoke voices and position speakers. The present chapter examines how classifications of place, person, and time are re-appropriated to new contexts after November 1989 and how they continue to divide up social spaces and position speakers. In this chapter, I also investigate how speakers employ innovations and grammatically complex expressions as alternatives to names.

3.2 NOMINALS, VOICE, AND POSITIONING

Classifications of place, person, and time play a crucial role in the formulation of identities. Place names, in particular, are a possibility for formulating persons (Schegloff 1972).

Schegloff (1972) points out that speakers always select classifications of place, person, and time from a set of alternative formulations (80). In selecting from these resources, speakers do not simply refer to social spaces but position themselves and others in relation to them. In addition, interlocutors may understand selections as indexing these relationships. As Schegloff (1972) points out, interlocutors do membership analysis:

[T]here are relationships between the identifications made (by the parties) of the parties to the conversation, on the one hand... and the selection and hearing of locational formulation, on the other. (88)

Schegloff's observation also holds for classifications of person and time in addition to place; interlocutors understand the selection made by speakers in

relation to speakers' social identities. If classifications can be associated with a particular genre, for example, the eastern or western German social contexts. speakers employing certain classifications adopt eastern and western German voices. Terms associated with these voices position speakers and index alignments in particular speech situations.

Another problem for speakers is that nominals, especially names, evoke connotations of social spaces. When speakers define their subject positions within social spaces by employing certain names, their own social identity is subject to stereotypes and values associated with these names. The same holds for identifying others.

3.3 GERMAN NOMINAL RESOURCES FOR IDENTITY FORMULATION

3.3.1 Place names

At any time during the existence of the FRG and the GDR, there was always a range of options for naming the two countries. Among these options, some were sanctioned by the countries themselves for their own as well as the respective other country. I refer to these terms as *official terminology*. The GDR used *Deutsche Demokratische Republik* as its most official term,¹⁰³ the media and speakers in everyday conversation also used *DDR*. The GDR referred to its neighboring country FRG as *BRD*. In contrast, the FRG did not use the term *BRD*; it officially called itself *Bundesrepublik Deutschland* or *BR Deutschland*. In everyday conversation, speakers in the FRG commonly used the terms

¹⁰³ Erich Honecker, the GDR's Head of State from 1971 to 1989, made a conscious effort to use the name unabbreviated in his public speeches.

Deutschland and *Bundesrepublik* (cf. Clyne 1995). *BRD*, if used in the FRG, was seen as indexing a left-wing position. The FRG referred to the GDR as *DDR*, though it initially used the term with quotation marks as “*DDR*” in its press.

Besides these official place names, which were also used in everyday conversations, some place names were specifically colloquial and possibly pejorative. For example, *Osten* in reference to the GDR was pejorative and evoked resentment to the GDR, whether used by a person in the FRG or in the GDR. *Westen* in reference to the FRG, though it was also colloquial, did not, however, have a pejorative connotation.

In times of competing constructions of social space, speakers' individual naming practices become essential markers of alliances and identifications. According to Clyne (1995), “every time West Germans referred to their country, they expressed a political opinion” (154). The same could be said for people in the GDR referring to their own country and to the FRG. While such positioning may be involuntary and goes unnoticed in some speech situations, it may index speakers' empathy with that place in other speech situations.

With the changes after the fall of the Wall, some terms became contested and new terms were introduced. *Deutschland* became a contested term because it was commonly used to denote the FRG; with the fall of the Wall the pre-1945 usage denoting a unified Germany started to compete. When the GDR ceased to exist with unification in 1990, new terms were introduced to mark the GDR as past, for example *ehemalige GDR* (former GDR). In addition, terms were introduced to denote eastern and western Germany after 1990: *neue Bundesländer*

(eastern Germany, lit. 'new Federal States') and *alte Bundesländer* (western Germany, lit. 'old Federal States').

Though the names of countries are the most frequent sources in the formulation of identities, city names are also linguistic resources in the construction of identities. The location of a city in eastern or western Germany may index that the person is from the GDR or from the FRG.

Whenever speakers use place names in my data, these names potentially position them in relation to social spaces, especially when competing alternatives exist at the time of speaking. Selections may also be meaningful in the constitution of speakers' and/or others' identities.

3.3.2 Group names

Besides place names, person formulations are a resource in the formulation of identities. Such person formulations are, for example, *Deutsche* (Germans), *DDR-Bürger* (citizens of the GDR), *ehemalige DDR-Bürger* (former GDR citizens), and *Westdeutsche* (West Germans). Some of these formulations also contain place names (e.g. *DDR*) but others do not.

Some special terms reflect the relationships between the GDR and the FRG. They specifically project relationships between the GDR and the FRG by formulating their people. One such group name was *Übersiedler*. It was a term used only for East Germans who left the GDR to live in the FRG. Literally, the term means "somebody who settles somewhere else." While it was used for

people from the GDR, there was no equivalent group name for people from the FRG who settled in the GDR, who were also, however, much fewer in number.

3.3.3 Temporal phrases

A third resource in formulating identities is temporal expressions denoting social spaces. Such expressions are, for example, *in den bisherigen Jahren* (in previous years), *zu damaligen Zeiten* (at those times), *die jetzige Staatsmacht* (the present state power). These temporal phrases constitute social spaces and social identities just as place and person classifications do. They are, however, alternatives to formulating identities through place or person terms. In contrast to place and person terms, temporal phrases do not name the place but refer to a period of time.

3.4 DATA ANALYSIS

3.4.1 Re-appropriating place and person classifications

3.4.1.1 Place names

Since personal identities can be formulated through the use of place names, changes in identities are indexed by changes in place names. The various place names for Germany are also resources for formulating social groups in divided and unified Germany. In the following segment, people in East and West Germany at the time of speaking are made into a unified people in Germany by way of the re-appropriation of place names.

The speaker in the segment is a West German politician who speaks on a show to an all-East German audience.

Data segment 3.1:

Richtung Deutschland (Towards Germany), ZDF, February 27, 1990

place: company *VEB Elektronische Bauelemente* in Berlin-Teltow (East Berlin)

NB...Norbert Blüm (Secretary of Labor and Social of West Germany)

- 1 NB: in Zukunft darf es nicht
 in the future there shouldn't be
- 2 mehr zweierlei Ärzte - **DDR** und **Bundesrepublik**
 two kinds of doctors- **GDR** and **Federal Republic**
- 3 geben = da gibts nur noch Ärzte in
 =then there will only be doctors in
- 4 **Deutschland** =
 Germany

This constellation *DDR-Bundesrepublik-Deutschland* is striking since GDR refers to the East Germany of the past and present (the time of speaking), whereas both *Bundesrepublik* and *Deutschland* could refer to the West Germany of the past and the present. In the example, however, the place name *Deutschland* is tied to the future (*Zukunft*). The place name *Deutschland* is re-appropriated as reference to a future Germany, while at the same time, *Bundesrepublik* is re-appropriated as the name for West Germany of the past and present. The choice of the place names is powerful in its implication: *DDR* and *Bundesrepublik* are the place names that resulted from division. *Deutschland*, a place name of the past, is now used in reference to the Germany of the future.

The place names appear in formulations of identities. An analogy is set up between "two kinds of doctors" (1.2) vs. "doctors in the future" and "two kinds of

countries now” vs. “Germany in the future.” This analogy implies unification without forcing NB to use the term. It also suggests to the all-East German audience in the studio and the TV audience that they will be included in that future country *Deutschland*. Since the talk show was aired three weeks before the first free elections in East Germany, this analogy has the effect of opening spaces for potential votes.

4.4.1.2 Loss of meaning: person category *Reisekader*

The following segment contains an example in which the person classification *Reisekader* is employed as an identity formulation. The term is highly historical because its meaning was embedded within a specifically GDR context. *Reisekader*¹⁰⁴ was used in reference to a functionary from the GDR who was permitted to travel to western countries, including the FRG. Permission to travel was given by the government only to people who were considered political representatives of the GDR and who would be sure to come back to the GDR: in other words, *Reisekader* were people with strong (political and personal) ties to the GDR. The more general term *Kader* meant “functionary” but was used in reference to a functionary of the *SED*¹⁰⁵ only. The more specific term *Parteikader* (functionary of the party) also referred to a functionary of the *SED* and no other party.¹⁰⁶ Thus, *Reisekader* could be associated with “functionary of

¹⁰⁴ The term is neither in Duden 1989 nor in the Oxford Duden German Dictionary 1990.

¹⁰⁵ *SED* (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands*) was the communist state party in the GDR.

¹⁰⁶ The GDR was basically a one-party-system. A few parties besides the *SED* existed, but they had no influence.

the *SED*," even though the speaker in the next segment may not intend this meaning.

In segment 3.2, the term *Reisekader* identifies the speaker as East German. The occurrence of the term in the segment is the target of a playful, however, stereotypical, comment made by the talk show host. This comment re-appropriates the meaning of *Reisekader* for the present setting and time.

Data segment 3.2:

Elf 99, Fernsehen der DDR, "DDR 2" (GDR broadcasting system 2).

February 10, 1990

place: Berlin (East)

T1... Talk show host 1 (Fritz Möllendorf)

PL ... Peter Luhn (from Erfurt)

T2... Talk show host 2

- 1 PL: und wir wollen auch die Reabilitierung der
 and we want the rehabilitation of those
- 2 Bürger die praktisch durch die
 citizens who practically because of the
- 3 anti-diskrimi-(.)nierende Gesetzgebung im (.)
 anti-discrimi- (.)nating jurisdiction under (.)
- 4 Sozialismus bis vor der Wende zu Schaden gekommen
 socialims until the Wende were harmed
- 5 sind beispielsweise ich selbst hab- bin also
 for example I myself- was well
- 6 damals noch an meiner Klinik a-der Akademie (...)
 back then still at my clinic a-the academy
- 7 gewesen insofern benachteiligt worden das es mir
 [I was] insofar discriminated that I was not
- PL looks to TS1
 *----->
- 8 also verwehrt wurde .hh **Reisekader** zu werden ja
 well allowed .hh to become **Reisekader** yes

9 ich bin eingereicht worden [aber ich
 I was submitted [but I
 [

10 TS1: [ja **nun haben wir**
 [well **now we will**

11 **inzwischen ja bald 12 Millionen** [Reisekader
 soon have 12 million [Reisekader
 [

12 PL: [mhm
 [yes

13 TS1: nun is es ja kein [Problem mehr
 now it is not a [problem any more

 PL smiles
 *----->

14 PL: ja das Problem hat sich von selbst jetzt
 yes the problem has now dissolved

15 erledigt ja
 by itself yes

In segment 3.13, PL describes the way in which the identity of a *Reisekader* was sought but denied to him by the GDR authorities, which not only identifies PL as East German but also as East German who was considered a non-conformist by the GDR government. PL's turn is interrupted by the talk show host for the purpose of commenting on the term *Reisekader* in *nun haben wir inzwischen ja bald 12 Millionen Reisekader* (ll. 10-11). By this comment, the term *Reisekader* is re-appropriated in meaning to include every East German at the time of speaking. The implication is that a *Reisekader* identity as it used to exist has become irrelevant because travel to western countries is now possible for all since the fall of the Wall. TS1's comment on *Reisekader* shows that the term has become meaningless; it becomes the source of humor and elicits laughter from the audience.

3.4.1.3 Temporal classifications

Temporal phrases and terms provide an alternative to person and place names to designate social spaces. The following data segment contains a temporal phrase that is used in reference to the period after the opening of the borders between the GDR and the FRG. IK's turn is part of a narration about her experience in East Germany.

Data segment 3.3:

Die Riverboat Talkshow, MDR, May 6, 1994

place: Dresden (eastern Germany)

IK... Ingeborg Krabbe (eastern German actress)

- 1 IK: Synchron hat mich gerettet in der **Übergangszeit**
 dubbing has saved me during the **transition time**

The temporal term is used here in reference to East Germany. An alternative to this temporal term would have been a place formulation such as *DDR*. The GDR at that time, however, had changed from the GDR it used to be before November 9, 1989. While the use of temporal term may result from the need to refer to a time period, the term also discloses the changes in the GDR that would be indexed in employing place names.

3.4.3 City names and positioning, place names and voices

One of the ways that identities are constructed is through city names. While city names describe personal identities in localized ways, as regional identities, they may also associate people with the social spaces that these cities are located in. In this regard, city names may be considered a more "neutral"

alternative compared to formulating national identities by way of country names. However, during a time when GDR and FRG were different social spaces or later when eastern and western Germany continue to be perceived as different social spaces, city names also constitute German identities if the cities are recognizable as being located in one or the other social space.

In the present section, I focus on the selection of city names and place names from a range of alternatives in self-assignments. The selections index not only speakers' identities but also their alignments towards the social spaces of FRG and GDR. All identity formulations in this section are from one talk show.

The date of the show is September 1989, before the fall of the Wall. The panel guests on the show are all young people who left the GDR in order to live in the FRG. The studio audience consists of guests from the FRG as well as from the GDR, however, exclusively those who had not returned to the GDR because free travel was not possible at the time of the show. The following data segment presents the guests' introductions on the show. In these introductions, panel guests formulate the places of departure and the places of arrival.

Data segment 3.4.a:

Doppelpunkt (DN 49), ZDF, September 13, 1989

Wir hatten die Schnauze voll—Junge Leute aus der DDR erzählen von ihren Erwartungen und Hoffnungen (We were fed up—Young people from the GDR talk about their expectations and hopes)

place: Mainz (FRG)

- 01 A: ja also ich bin die Andrea (.) ich bin seit Februar in
 yes well my name is Andrea (.) I am in **Westberlin**
- 03 **Westberlin**, habe vorher in **Ostberlin** gelebt
 since february, before that I lived in **East Berlin**
- ...

04 P: ich bin die Petra ... ich komme aus **Zwickau** lebe
I am Petra ... I come from **Zwickau** I have been living

05 jetzt seit dreieinhalb Jahren in **Karlsruhe**
in **Karlsruhe** for three and a half years

...

06 AS: ich bin der Andreas komme aus **Pirna** (.) das ist
I am Andreas I come from **Pirna** (.) that is a

07 eine Kreisstadt in **Dresden**...
town in **Dresden**

08 U: ja ich bin der Uwe ich komme aus **Berlin**... lebe
yes I am Uwe I come from **Berlin** ... I now live

09 jetzt in **Freiburg**
in **Freiburg**

While the first three speakers use city names by which they clearly formulate themselves as people who moved from the GDR to the FRG, the last speaker does not. The first two speakers choose city names as part of formulating their identities which clearly index cities in the GDR and the FRG: *Ostberlin* and *Zwickau* are both in the GDR, while *Westberlin* and *Karlsruhe* are both in the FRG. The third speaker explains the location of the city *Pirna* which marks Pirna as a city which may not be recognized by the audience as being located in the GDR.

In contrast, the last speaker's selection of *Berlin* does not index the place as located in the GDR or FRG. By coincidence, the city name *Freiburg* also potentially evokes the GDR as well as the FRG; there is a city named *Freiburg* in the FRG and one named *Freyburg* in the GDR. Since the talk show host introduced U earlier as a person who moved from the GDR to the FRG, it is clear that U's *Berlin* is East Berlin. While the referent is not problematic in U's utterance, U's choice of place names contrasts with those of the other speakers.

He selects a name which does not overtly formulate his (past) GDR identity. His selection indexes non-relevance of formulating GDR and FRG in the names. Consequently, U's identity is made non-specific, he formulates himself as German rather than from the GDR or the FRG.

U's selection of city names contrasts with similar selections by speakers who the talk show host formulated earlier as belonging to the same group: all had moved from the GDR to the FRG. U's use of city names has the potential to index him as an outsider, as different than the other guests and as rejecting an assigned GDR identity. I will now turn to U's selection of country names which also contrast with others' uses of country names in the same linguistic context. I focus now on U's place name selections in his following turns because they position U and index alignment with the GDR.

The following discussion will focus on the use of place names for the FRG. While *BRD* was the term sanctioned by the GDR (i.e. indexing a GDR voice), *Bundesrepublik* was sanctioned by the FRG (i.e. indexing a FRG voice). In the following segment from the same show, the talk show host addresses the GDR guests with a question and uses *Bundesrepublik* in his utterance.

Data segment 3.4.b:
(same as 3.4.a)

- 01 TS: wenn man in die **Bundesrepublik** kommt bekommt
when one comes to the **Federal Republic** one receives
- 02 man ein Startgeld was habt Ihr Euch dafür geholt
start-up money what did you buy yourself for that

Two of the guests (but not U) answer TS's question. After that, TS asks another question that is displayed in segment 3.4.c.

Data segment 3.4.c:
(same as 3.4.a)

- 01 TS: nun werden die Zahncreme und der Fön nicht die
toothpaste and hairdryer won't be the only
- 02 einzigen Dinge sein warum ihr aus der DDR raus seid,
things why you left the GDR,
- 03 was kam denn da alles zusammen
what altogether made you leave

After one speaker describes a state of dissatisfaction with the supply of equipment and resources in the GDR while working as a pharmacist. U self-selects next. At this point, he uses *BRD* for the first time on the talk show while before only *Bundesrepublik* was used by the talk show host. The use of the term *BRD* within this linguistic context becomes an index for U's negotiation of inclusion and exclusion as a GDR citizen.

Data segment 3.4.d:
(same as 3.20.a)

- 01 U: es entsteht der Eindruck in der **BRD** daß viele aus
it creates the picture in the **FRG** that many come
- 02 der DDR kommen weil materielle Gründe der Anlaß sind,
from the GDR for material reasons,
- 03 ich denke aber die **materiellen** Gründe stehen
I think however that **material** reasons are
- 04 eigentlich hinter den **ideellen** Gründen weit zurück ...
way secondary to **idealistic** reasons that is the case
- 05 es ist so **nach meinen Erfahrungen zumindest** >und das
according to my experience at least >and that
- 06 kann vielleicht ne **Ausnahme** sein< daß: die Leute in
can perhaps be an **exception**< that: the people in

07 der DDR °nach meinen Erfahrungen wie gesagt°
 the GDR °according to my experience at least°

08 jedenfalls relativ sicher sozial leben
 lived relatively secure socially

Since the term *BRD* is the GDR specific term, it indexes a GDR voice. This GDR voice contrasts not only with the present location of the speaker (because *Bundesrepublik* was common in the FRG) but also with the way U positions himself through the reporting *es entsteht der Eindruck in der BRD* (1.1). Here, he positions himself in the FRG community; he claims knowledge about this community. Thus, while he uses the GDR specific term *BRD*, he distinguishes himself from other GDR citizens on the show by claiming FRG experience. He also positions himself in contrast to other GDR guests on the show who have spoken by suggesting *ideelle* rather than *materielle Gründe*.

He further makes himself an outsider through a mitigating statement about his experience as an exception (*Ausnahme ... nach meinen Erfahrungen wie gesagt*). He frames his talk in anticipation of an audience that may not agree with him. This mitigation positions the speaker outside of the majority of people on the show.

U formulates his GDR identity as different from that of other GDR guests on the show but he also does not claim an FRG identity. His use of place names marks a position that is “in between” and that negotiates inclusion and exclusion in the social spaces GDR and FRG.

3.4.4 Recalling past social spaces through cities and regions

Besides city names, names for regions and countries may assign identities to people. Place names other than country names formulate identities as local. At the same time, these place names may also evoke the social spaces of eastern and western Germany after unification.

In the following data segment, a voice-over introduces panel guests at the beginning of a show as they pass through a revolving door. The show is from May 12, 1991, and the topic of the show is the closing of theaters in (eastern and western) Germany.

Data segment 3.5:

Talk im Turm, Sat 1, May 12, 1991,
place: *Interconti Hotel* in Berlin (West)

V 1-5... same voice-over for people 1-5

- 01 V1: Johanna Schall (.) die Schauspielerin in
Johanna Schall (.) the actress in
- 02 **Ost-Berlin** sagt (.) lasst die Theater nicht sterben
east berlin says (.) don't let the theaters die
- 03 V2: August Everding (.) der **bayrische** Generalintendant
August Everding (.) the **Bavarian** artistic director
- 04 fordert (.) noch mehr Geld für die Kultur
wants (.) more money for culture
- 05 V3: Matthias Matussek (.) Kritiker und Buchautor sagt
Matthias Matussek (.) critic and author of books says
- 06 Theater in **Deutschland** ist Beamtentum und
theater in **Germany** is civil service mentality and
- 07 Großkotzigkeit
pretentiousness
- 08 V4: Helga Schuchardt (.) die Kultusministerin in
Helga Schuchardt (.) minister of education in

- 09 **Niedersachsen** fordert ...
 Lower Saxony wants (.) ...
- 10 V5: Jürgen Flimm (.) der **Hamburger** Intendant läßt
 Jürgen Flimm (.) the **Hamburg** director has his
- 11 sich sein Theater für fünfzig Millionen ausbauen
 theater renovated for fifty million
- 12 V6: Karl Dall (.) Komiker, er wartet immer noch
 Karl Dall (.) the comedian, is still waiting for his
- 13 auf die staatliche Unterstützung
 financial support from the state

Most of the descriptions of the guests contain a place name. The only exception is voice-over 6, which solely mentions Karl Dall's professional identity (*Komiker*). Only the first voice-over, V1, describes the person with a place name containing an East German attribute: *Ost-Berlin*. The city is formulated as *Ost-Berlin* and not as *Berlin*, even though in May 1991, half a year after unification. *Berlin* would have been equally legitimate as the official city name. The selection of *Ost-Berlin* instead makes the social spaces of eastern and western Germany relevant. These spaces become "omni-relevant categories" (Sacks 1992a), which means that they can be made relevant later in the interaction. In section 6.3.2.2, I will show that these categories are, in fact, made relevant.

Through the preposition *in* in the phrase *die Schauspielerin in Ost-Berlin* (1.2), the place is merely indexed as a work place for Johanna Schall at the present time; it does not necessarily constitute her identity as national identity (*von Ost-Berlin* would have been possible as an alternative). However, by choosing *Ost-Berlin* instead of *Berlin*, the announcer sets up an opposition between eastern and

non-eastern. Since the eastern German place name appears in the first voice-over, the other place names are possibly heard not as any regional names but as being part of western Germany: *bayerische, Niedersachsen, Hamburg*. These place names identify two western German theater directors (HE, JF) and one western German politician (HS). In voice-over 3, the country name *Deutschland* appears in a quote from MM's words rather than in a description of his identity. *Deutschland*, as used here, makes the distinction between eastern and western Germany irrelevant if it denotes the unified Germany and not West Germany of the past, here, it is not specifically contextualized as either one.

It appears that the first description, V1, stands out as associating the person with the eastern German space through *Ost-Berlin* at a time when *Berlin* would have been an alternative. All other descriptions do not formulate the western German space directly, although the place names covertly associate the people with western Germany. After all, Ost-Berlin evokes the contrast East and West again.

3.4.5 Changing identities with changing place names

At the beginning of this chapter I pointed out that, with the changing social space, place names also changed. Since place names are a resource for formulating personal identities, it appears that personal identities change with the change of place names. Such is the case in the following data segment.

In data segment 3.6, the talk show host uses a combination of time and place formulations to describe where VF has worked. He constitutes her

professional identity through place names. He uses different place terms that reflect the social changes together with temporal adverbs *früher* (formerly), *dann* (then), *jetzt* (now). While he designates social changes, the place names index changes in VF's personal identity.

Data segment 3.6:

Die Riverboat Talkshow, MDR, January 21, 1994

place: Dresden (eastern Germany)

VF.... Veronika Fischer (singer, lived in the GDR)

TH... talkshow host

- 1 TH: sind die Texte eh die Sie schreiben oder die Sie
have the texts uhm that you write or that you sing
- 2 singen eh (.) verändert auch in den letzten Jahren,
uhm (.) changed also in the past (few) years, you
- hand gesture
----->
- 3 Sie haben ja **früher eh in der ehemaligen DDR** dann in
have [worked] **before uhm in the former GDR** then in the
- 4 **der Bundesrepublik ohne Vereinigung** >jetzt im<
Federal Republic without unification >now in< the
- 5 **vereinigten: Deutschland** zu tun, bewegt sich da auch
unified: Germany, has there anything changed
- 6 was in den Inhalten
as far as content goes

TH distinguishes three time periods. The first is *früher in der ehemaligen DDR* (l.3) which is accompanied by a hand gesture designating this period as past and over.¹⁰⁷ The second formulation *dann in der Bundesrepublik ohne Vereinigung* designates the time before October 1990 (before unification): it is, however, ambiguous in its construction of the social space. From a historical

¹⁰⁷ Hand gestures in conjunction with place names occur frequently in the data.

standpoint, it can be argued that *Bundesrepublik* at the time between 1989 and 1990 designated West Germany only, however, from a 1994 perspective, the social space of 1989-1990 (East and West Germany) may appear like a continuation into the *jetzt im vereinigten Deutschland*; thus, the *Bundesrepublik ohne Vereinigung* would be the social space of East and West Germany between 1989-1990.

This example shows how the formulation of identities combines with the use of place formulations. Since place names denote a certain period, they also make identity formulations stable. Similarly, if social spaces change, the change of place names also make the formulation of personal identities unstable. Here, habitus as the intersection between the individual and the social structure becomes evident. The example shows how identities are entangled in social changes: personal identity is presented as changing through the changing place names, even though VF may still work in the same town. By choosing GDR and FRG as place names, TH makes VF's professional identity relevant in relation to her citizenship, i.e. VF's personal identity in its relation to national identity.

In a different MDR talk show, almost one year earlier, the same talk show host as the one in segment 3.6 formulates a professional identity for another eastern German guest. In contrast to segment 3.6, past and future identities of the addressee are formulated through place names while the present is left out.

Data segment 3.7.a:

Die Riverboat Talkshow, MDR, March 5, 1993
place: Dresden (eastern Germany)

TH...talk show host (Jan Hofer)

RT...Regina Thoss (eastern German singer)

- 1 TH: denn Sie haben ja eine ganze Menge zu erzählen aus
because you have to tell a lot from a
- 2 einem langen Künstlerleben [denn **Sie sind einer der**
long artistic life [because you **[have been]**
[
- 3 RT: [jahaha
[oh yes
- 4 TH: **großen Stars (.) in der DDR gewesen** und heute auf
one of the big stars (.) in the GDR and you are
- TH moves both arms out to opening gesture*
----->
- 5 dem Wege in **ganz Deutschland** einer zu werden eh
today on your way to become one in the **entire Germany**
- 6 wenn sie **die letzten Jahre** Revue passieren lassen
if you let **the last years** pass by your eyes
- 7 was gefällt Ihnen nicht
what dont you like

In the formulation of RT's professional identity *Sie sind einer der großen Stars* (ll. 2 and 4), TH starts out with what appears to be a present identity formulation because the German participle *gewesen* (l. 4) comes at the very end of the sentence preceded by a pause. In conjunction with the place name *in der DDR*, the compliment *einer der großen Stars* denotes a past rather than a present identity. In fact, the place name *DDR* instead of *ehemalige DDR* makes the place one of the past with no relation to the present (cf. "former" implies "present"). Consequently, it locates her professional identity in the past. The following formulation *in ganz Deutschland einer zu werden* (l.5) addresses her identity as a possible star in the unified Germany (*ganz Deutschland* together with the gesture and *werden* makes it the unified Germany). The speaker leaves out the time between the end of the GDR and the future in the formulation of her identity; he

does not use a place name for the present. However, the temporal phrase *die letzten Jahre* (1.6) may designate that period. Similarly to *Übergangszeit* in data segment 3.3, the temporal phrase in this segment “covers up” a break in RT’s professional identity.

In both data segments, the changes in place names are entangled with the changes in personal identities. One effect of more frequent changes in place names in eastern Germany is the difference in formulating eastern and western German identities. Eastern German identities generally appear more fragmented than western German identities because of the changes in place names. That is why the majority of examples I discuss in this chapter involve eastern Germans and not western Germans.

3.4.5 Group names: official and colloquial

Among the classifications for a group of people, there are official terms and colloquial terms. The following data segment exemplifies how a talk show host employs an official term in addressing a guest, while the addressee employs the colloquial term.

Data segment 3.8:

Nachtcafé (DN 111), September 23, 1989
place: Ludwigsburg (FRG)

TH... talk show host (Wieland Backes, FRG)

MA... Martin Ahrends (journalist, moved from the GDR to the FRG in 1984)

01 TH: was macht einem Schwierigkeiten als **ehemaliger**
what is difficult for a [you as a] **former**

02 **DDR Bürger**
 GDR citizen

03 MA: man fühlt sich dann (wirklicherweise) mal fremd
 one feels then (possibly) foreign

04 und unverstanden .hh sucht immer noch Kontakt
 and not understood .hh looks for contact

05 zu den **ehemaligen DDRlern**
 with the **former GDR citizens**

In 1.1, the talk show host uses the term *ehemaliger*¹⁰⁸ *DDR Bürger*, which is official terminology. It also appears to be the voice of the GDR since the term is the one that was sanctioned in the GDR and officially used there. Obviously, *ehemalige*- formulates the addressee as somebody who left the GDR. The chosen term, in contrast to alternative terms¹⁰⁹ for a person that left the GDR, formulates MA's former contact to the GDR.

In his answer, MA describes his contact to people in the GDR. Here, he employs the person classification *DDRler*. This term is non-official: it was a term that was used by people in the GDR and in the FRG for people in the GDR. It is an affectionate classification and seems mostly used by the members of the group themselves.

It is important to note that TH as well as MA employ the person formulations without any hesitation which might indicate trouble, something that will appear later with such formulations (see Chapter Six).

¹⁰⁸ The adjective *ehemalige* was applied to *DDR* after unification to mark the GDR as past. As the data segment shows, it was used before 1990 in reference to people who had left the GDR.

¹⁰⁹ *Übersiedler* (a term used for people from the GDR who move or escape to the FRG, literally: somebody who re-settles), for example, is a term that would describe MA from the western German viewpoint. This term does not formulate the person as related to the place the person left.

3.4.6 Innovations for non-positioning

The discussion so far has shown that personal identity formulations of German national identities always position interlocutors. This positioning is due to the existence of alternative formulations indexing competing social spaces and groups. In this section, I discuss innovative identity formulations that speakers create as alternatives to formulations of national identities in group names such as *DDR Bürger* and *Übersiedler*. These innovative formulations cleverly disguise national identities of people.

An example is the following data segment 3.9 that contains an alternative to *DDR Bürger*.

Data segment 3.9:

III nach 9 (DN 205), *N3*, August 19, 1994 (originally aired in 1982 by the same station)

TH... talk show host

- 1 TH: Leute die in der DDR ein paralelles Leben
people who have lived parallel lives
- 2 hinter sich gebracht haben
in the GDR

Here, living in the GDR is formulated as parallel (rather than different) to living in the FRG. In addition, the people in the GDR are formulated as living in the GDR rather than “belonging” to the GDR. If a person “belongs” to a state, the stereotypes associated with that state may be associated with that person also. In contrast, “living” in the GDR does not imply an active choice on the part of the person.

The following segment 3.10.a contains a formulation in form of a puzzle. The speaker employs a description that does not index national identities as some

place names or group names would. The personal identity descriptions that the speaker employs are rather odd; they are alternatives to more precise formulations that would designate people's national identities. As the following discussion will show, there may be a reasons that the speaker does not employ names here.

Data segment 3.10.a:

Nachtsafe (DN 111), September 23, 1989

TS... talk show host

- 1 TS: wir haben hier Gäste mit Wohnsitz Ost und Gäste
 we have here guests with places of living in the East
- 2 mit Wohnsitz West in der Runde zusammengebracht
 and guests with places of living in the West

In the formulation *Gäste mit Wohnsitz Ost und Gäste mit Wohnsitz West*, the guests are introduced by their current places of living. Thus, *Gäste mit Wohnsitz Ost* designates guests living in the GDR and *Gäste mit Wohnsitz West* guests in the FRG. The formulations do not index if the people who live in the FRG just moved there from the GDR or if people in the GDR moved there from the FRG or stayed in the GDR as opposed to moving to the FRG. In other words, the people are formulated without a past. Thus, no judgment can be passed on their present identities.

The syntactic parallelism chosen in the description of each group of people also presents these groups in a symmetric relationship with each other. The talk show host also does not formulate his own inclusion. Compared to introductions discussed earlier, the speaker here does not set up a dichotomy between guests from the GDR and the group of "we in the FRG." which would

include the talk show host and would set up a dichotomy between the talk show host's group and the guests.

The puzzle about the guests' past is partly resolved by the speaker in his continuing talk.

Data segment 3.10. b:

Nachtcafe (DN 111), September 23, 1989

- 1 TS: und sie haben eine Gemeinsamkeit - **sie alle**
 and they all have something in common - **they all**
- 2 **kennen die DDR von innen** (...) und jetzt stell ich
 know the GDR from the inside (...) and now I will
- 3 Ihnen die Gäste mal kurz vor
 introduce the guests to you

With the formulation *sie alle kennen die DDR von innen*, the guests are characterized as having insider knowledge of the GDR, i.e. they all must presently live or must have lived in the GDR. The people *mit Wohnsitz West* are consequently people who have moved from the GDR to the FRG. and an alternative formulation for the talk show host would have been *Übersiedler*.

The talk show host then proceeds by introducing each guest. There are six guests on the show, four of them emigrated from the GDR to the FRG. one GDR citizen still lives in the GDR, and one person from the FRG emigrated to the GDR. This last guest is introduced with the following description:

Data segment 3.10.c:

Nachtcafe (DN 111), September 23, 1989

- 1 TS: Gisela Kraft (.) hat auch die **deutsch deutsche**
 Gisela Kraft also crossed the **German German**
- 2 **Grenze** überschritten (.) aber in **ungewöhnlicher**
 border but in **unusual direction**,

3 **Richtung**, sie zog von West (.) nach Ostberlin um
 she moved from West to East Berlin

The guest's move from the FRG to the GDR is here described as *ungewöhnlich*- (unusual). It was indeed less common to emigrate from the FRG to the GDR. What makes it difficult to formulate this person's identity using a single term is the non-availability of such term for somebody who moved from the FRG to the GDR. As I pointed out in section 3.3.2, *Übersiedler* was only used for people who moved from the GDR to the FRG but not from the FRG to the GDR. Thus, presenting the guests' present places of living is an alternative way to include all guests without addressing historical or political relationships between the FRG and the GDR. The speaker also does not immediately reveal whether he considers the people from the GDR as having a GDR identity or an FRG identity, now that they have lived in the FRG for over a year. Furthermore, the speaker does not reveal whether he considers Gisela Kraft in co-membership with himself (an FRG citizen) or as having reverted to a GDR identity.

3.4.7 "A person from x:" identity formulation and geographical arrival

In conversation, identity formulation "a person from x" usually appears in the answer to the question: "Where are you from?" which commonly renders the answer: "I come from x" as self-assignment. In this case, it formulates an identity for the person. In specific context, however, the formulation "I am from x" and "a person from x" can also formulate geographic arrivals. Talk show

settings appear to be such context. In the following segment, the formulation “people from x” indexes both geographical arrivals as well as identities.

Data segment 3.11:

Streit im Schloß. Live zu einem heißen Thema. Heute: “Mitbürger oder Absahner. Das Problem der Aus- und Übersiedler”
(DN 89), Südwest 3, December 23, 1989

TS... talk show host (Peter Hümer, Austrian)

1 TS: gibt es auch **jemanden aus der DDR**
is there also **somebody from the GDR**

PH’s question is understood as asking for people who would consider themselves GDR citizens. The formulation *jemanden aus der DDR* could be understood as an identity formulation indexing the belonging of that person to the place GDR. However, it could also potentially formulate geographical arrivals, i.e. arrivals of guests on the show.

If the place of the talk show corresponds with the place of residence, the difference between geographical and metaphorical arrivals is obsolete. The following segment is an example. The talk show takes place in Erfurt (East Germany). The following is an introduction of a panel guest who lives in Erfurt.

Data segment 3.12.a:

Fragezeichen (DN 123), March 21, 1990
place: Erfurt (East Germany)

TS.... talk show host

1 TS: da ist als erstes Uta Pappe hier **aus Erfurt** ...
there is at first Uta Pappe here **from Erfurt** ...

On the same talk show, there are also guests who moved from East Germany to West Germany. While their current place of residence is West

Germany, they are originally from East Germany. In the introduction of one of these guests, the talk show host employs the formulation “a person from x” twice. Both geographic moves and metaphorical formulation of origin overlap in these formulations.

Data segment 3.12.b:

(same as 3.1.a)

JF... Jörg Feldhahn

- 1 TS: als nächstes haben wir **aus Mainz** mitgebracht Jörg
 next we brought with us **from Mainz** Jörg Feldhahn

- 2 Feldhahn der **aus dem: Bezirk (.) dem Bezirk (.)**
 who is **from the district (.) the district (.)**

- 3 **Karl[Marx Stadt** is es ja?
 Karl [Marx Stadt is it right?
 [
- 4 JF: [Karl-Marx- hmh
 [Karl-Marx- thats right

- 5 TS: im November neunzehnhundertneunundachtzig
 moved (to West Germany) in

- 6 übergesiedelt¹¹⁰ ist
 November 1989

The formulation *aus Mainz* refers to JF's present place of living, while *aus ... Karl-Marx-Stadt* formulates his past place of living. The speaker does not indicate which one formulates JF's identity. Thus, since she employs the formulation “a person from x” as geographical or as identity “arrival,” she can leave open whether she considers JF to be an East or a West German, now that he has moved to West Germany.

In the following segment, the speaker employs the formulation “a person from x” differently for East Germans and West Germans. Segment 3.13 is from a

¹¹⁰ The verb *übersiedeln* corresponds with the noun *Übersiedler* (see 3.3.2).

talk show aired in February 1990. The topic of the show is *Frauen—was sonst* (Women—what else?) and there are only women on the show. The speaker in the following segment is the talk show host Lea Rosh, who was at the time a leader of the feminist movement in West Germany. In the segment, she formulates different groups of women.

Data segment 3.13:

Frauen—was sonst? (DN 116, p.2), February 9, 1990

place: Studio SFB Berlin, West

TH... talk show host (Lea Rosh)

- 1 TH: jetzt nach dem neunten November da die **Frauen aus**
 now after the ninth of November that the **women from**
- 2 **und in der DDR** gelernt haben sich auch zu erheben
 and in the GDR have learned to revolt
- 3 und sich zu artikulieren jetzt haben wir gelernt was
 and to articulate themselves now we have learned what
- 4 das heißt sie haben zwar die gleichen Rechte aber sie
 it means they have the same rights but they
- 5 haben doppelt so viel Pflichten (.) die Frage die wir
 have double as many duties (.) the question that we
- 6 uns stellen und gestellt haben ist (.) können wir
 ask and have asked ourselves is (.) can we
- 7 **Frauen aus der Bundesrepublik** und aus der
 women from the Federal Republic and from the
- 8 hiesigen Frauenbewegung den **Frauen aus der DDR**
 women's movement here help the **women**
- 9 vielleicht helfen
 from the GDR

It is striking that the bold-faced formulations for women from East Germany and women from West Germany are not parallel. First, the place names

are not parallel; the abbreviation *DDR* is used for GDR and *Bundesrepublik* is used for FRG. In both cases the place names are used which are sanctioned by the FRG, thus suggesting a West German voice.

Secondly, it is noticeable that *Frauen aus und in der DDR* (11.2-3) has two prepositions whereas *Frauen aus der Bundesrepublik* has only one preposition. The structures *aus der DDR* and *aus der Bundesrepublik* both employ the formulation “a person from x.” *Frauen aus der DDR* could be heard as: women whose home place is East Germany. However, the proceeding formulation *Frauen in der DDR* sets up a contrast between *aus* and *in*. While *Frauen in der DDR* is heard as women who still live in East Germany at the time, *Frauen aus der DDR* is heard as women who are from the GDR/East Germany but do not live in East Germany any more. In contrast to the formulation for East German women, women from West Germany are formulated solely as *Frauen aus der Bundesrepublik* (1.7), which implies *Bundesrepublik* as their home place. Thus, East German women are formulated as “on the move;” the formulation “a person from x” describes a geographical arrival. In contrast, West German women are formulated by the metaphorical identity formulation “people from x.”

3.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have examined the use of nominals, especially group and place names in contrast to less specific classifications to formulate identities. First, the analysis revealed that place names indexing voices position speakers in certain speech situations. Second, I argued that city names potentially position

individuals in relation to social spaces at times when these city names can be associated with these spaces. However, city and regional names are also the more subtle alternatives to names of countries that denote social spaces more specifically. Third, innovations discussed in the chapter are also alternatives to labels and names. These alternatives attend to habitus instead of identity categorizations such as names and labels. Fourth, the analysis revealed that place names are problematic with a break in the social structure. I have shown how place names are entangled with social identities, so that they formulate collisions of identities for the same person in the utterance. Last, the same identity formulation, “a person from x,” can be used to describe identities and physical movements of people between places. I have discussed how both these meanings can be evoked so that explicit identity descriptions are avoided. Identity formulations that describe physical as well as figurative arrivals will also be a focus of the analysis in the following chapters.

Chapter Four: Pronouns and adverbs: deictics for social spaces

4.1 INTRODUCTION

As will be demonstrated in this chapter, deictics such as the pronoun *wir* (we) and the adverb *hier* (here) are important resources speakers use to formulate their own identities and to position speakers and audiences. These deictics are resources that express relationships between individuals and social spaces. Thus, they are essential in negotiating images of the community by way of language. As can be expected, German speakers from East and West Germany faced particular challenges in interactions with one another after November 1989 because the same deictics had symbolically divided up social spaces into two stable communities GDR and FRG before November 1989. The analysis in this chapter reveals how the social environment contextualizes¹¹¹ deictics, how speakers adjust deictics to different contexts, and how speakers select among different alternatives to negotiate identities.

4.2 SOCIAL DEICTICS

4.2.1 Deixis

Deixis comes from the Greek word for “pointing.” It is the act of reference that certain lexico-grammatical entities do that are called deictics or “indexical expressions” (Hanks 1992) or “shifters” (Silverstein 1976). They

¹¹¹ By that I mean that deictics become meaningful through features of the context. I borrow the idea of “contextualization” from Gumperz (1982) and Auer (1995).

establish a relationship between an “object,” the *figure*, and a “frame of reference,” the *indexical ground*. The figure needs the indexical ground in order to be interpreted. This indexical ground may include several reference points. The speaker’s position in space or time is commonly taken as the most important (Crystal 1997:106). However, as Hanks (1992) argues, cultural contexts can also provide for essential reference points. In addition, deictics are contextualized by cues from the present interaction such as verbal cues, gesture, and eye gaze (Bühler 1990).

4.2.2 Social deictics dividing up social spaces

In the present study, I am concerned with a particular subset of deictics I call *social deictics*. This subset of deictics includes, for example, *wir* (we) and *hier* (here). For this subset, social and cultural contexts are key reference points as part of the indexical ground. These contexts are necessary in order to “place” the figure, i.e. for denotation. In addition, social deictics have connotations: they are associated with stereotypes and values of the “objects” they denote.

In terms of denotation, these social deictics are resources with which speakers of any national community denote their community, and set it apart from other communities. Over time, the relationships between communities become a “self-verifying vision” (Bourdieu 1990: 136). Through use in daily interactions, the relationships between these deictics and their “referents” becomes naturalized for speakers of a community and set these speakers apart from members of other communities.

Connotations about these social spaces that contextualize deictics, and about relationships between different social spaces, become part of the meaning of these deictics in the interaction. Thus, deictics are motivated for members of a community; those members associate stereotypes, social, and cultural values with a community as compared to other communities. In the speech situation, deictics are contextualized through these connotations in addition to denoting relationships between social spaces.

4.2.3 German social deictics

Prior to 1989, people in the GDR and the FRG used *wir* (we) and *hier* (here) as resources to denote their respective communities, while they referred to the other community as *sie* (they) and *drüben* (across the border/Wall¹¹²). The indexical ground for these deictics was provided by the relationship between the countries FRG and GDR. When referring to their own or the other community, speakers relied on this relationship including the connotations that deictic reference to each community involved.

With the opening of the borders between GDR and FRG in 1989, this indexical ground started to be in flux. People in East and West Germany began to envision the relationship between the two countries in different ways (see section

¹¹² *Drüben* is similar to the deictic-locative adverb *dort* (there) in that it denotes the “other” social space. However, *drüben* had a specific connotation before the opening of the border between the GDR and the FRG. Speakers denoted the respective other country with *drüben*; it was used in the GDR to designate the FRG and in the FRG to designate the GDR. This meaning developed through the relationship between the GDR and the FRG. However, in narrative contexts that did and do not address the German situation, *drüben* also has the more general meaning of “some place located across a border or natural obstacle.”

1.3.1). The deictics that speakers employed, however, had a “past.” People familiar with the relationships between FRG and GDR still associated the deictic forms, for example, *wir* (we) and *hier* (here), with past social spaces.

When people from East and West Germany faced each other in interactions starting in 1989, they realized that the “same” German deictics used by each group denoted different social spaces, established different relationships, and had different connotations. The analysis presented in this chapter shows, in part, how participants in these interactions cope with the ambiguities of deictics due to the lost indexical ground.

4.2.4 Social deictics and voice

Whenever social spaces during the time of social changes are in flux, different voices may emerge with the use of social deictics in the interaction. These voices are connected with particular social spaces (e.g., East Germany, West Germany). Though they are caused by the social changes, they are evoked by the ways that speakers’ habitus, settings, and historical relationships between social spaces contextualize these deictics. Several voices speaking from the same social deictic can cause these deictics to be heteroglossic (see section 1.3.3.2). As a consequence, they may index speakers’ relationships to different social spaces at the same time. Thus, while all deictics are inherently ambiguous, i.e. they are figures on an indexical ground that needs to be further specified, social deictics evoke particular social spaces that are “available” as objects of reference.

4.2.5 Social deictics and positioning

The analysis in this chapter reveals that social deictics are central to the intersection of personal and national identities. Whenever speakers employ social deictics, they necessarily identify their own and others' relationships to social spaces. In using deictics, speakers express their own and others' relationships to collectivities.

Identifications with social spaces through the use of social deictics becomes crucial at times when social spaces compete. While processes of identification are often habitual ways of defining relationships, these identifications acquire a new dimension when speakers face others who identify with different social spaces that have different connotations. These different connotations position the speaker; they apply to the individual stereotypes or values associated with the group that the speaker picks out to identify with.

While deictics position speakers, they necessarily also position others. With every "we," there is a "they," with every "here," there is a "there," whether explicit or implied. Though the deictic system itself is inherently ambiguous, and in some languages more so than in others, the spaces assigned through deictics can emerge with the co-text, the social and cultural contexts of past, present and future, the setting, and the speaker's habitus. The habitus in particular, i.e. experiences, knowledge, for example through living in a certain place, contextualizes these social deictics. It makes these social deictics be understood as denoting specific groups. In fact, past experiences may contextualize social deictics of the present. Consequently, the reference to the speaker's social

position associated with the habitus can be a stronger “contextualization cue”¹¹³ (Gumperz 1982) than the setting at the present moment of speaking with the deictic-locative adverb *hier* (here).¹¹⁴

4.2.6 Deictics and naming

Deictics, like nominals, categorize. This becomes evident with individuals who move between social spaces that are considered separate social spaces. Separate social spaces have their own pronoun “we,” and their own adverb “here.” If individuals move between spaces that are considered separate, these individuals cannot formulate their membership in both through the same pronoun. Thus, the indexical ground can be in flux because the person is not “categorizable.” Categorizing, however, presupposes groups that have names. While social deictics can either refer to already existing groups, these deictics are also, as Bühler points out, the first step in naming (1990: 160).

The German case study offers insights into these naming practices through deictics. These practices must be different from naming through nominals (Chapters 3 and 6) because of the characteristics of deictics as a set in the linguistic inventory. In contrast to nominals that allow for lexical innovations, deictics are a closed set of linguistic resources, i.e. speakers cannot create new words with deictics in similar ways as they can with nominal classifications.

¹¹³ Gumperz defines “contextualization cues” as “any feature of linguistic form that contributes to the signaling of contextual presuppositions” (Gumperz 1982: 131).

¹¹⁴ With this observation, the traditional separation of deictic forms and expressions into three main types, personal, spatial, and temporal deictics, falls apart. For example, locative-deictic adverbs, such as *hier* (here), can also constitute social spaces and personal pronouns like *Du/Sie* can also be conceptualized as spatial deixis of distance.

Rather, their deictic nature makes deictics “adjustable” to different contexts. The data, in part, documents how East and West Germans have made adjustment of social deictics that changed indexical grounds due to social changes in Germany. Since the German deictic system serves speakers and interlocutors as a linguistic resource in formulating inclusion in and exclusion from groups, a discussion of the main important German deictics follows.

4.3 THE GERMAN DEICTIC SYSTEM: RESOURCES AND LIMITS

4.3.1 Deictic systems

Deictics are part of the linguistic inventory of each language that I call the *deictic system*. Deictic systems differ among languages or language families. For example, different languages provide different resources that allow speakers to negotiate inclusion and exclusion of individuals in communities. Since speakers rely on the grammatical systems of their languages as resources to negotiate intersubjective meanings, these differences may have consequences for the formulation of identities in the interaction. Also, deictic systems provide for different alternatives to formulate identities. In the following, I will provide a brief overview of peculiarities of the German deictic system.

4.3.2 The pronoun *wir*: grammaticalized inclusion and exclusion

One such peculiarity in the German deictic system, which becomes crucial in verbal interactions, concerns the German pronoun *wir* (first person plural). The German pronominal system, like that of other Indo-European languages, has

certain properties that allow speakers of German to be more ambiguous when denoting social spaces than speakers of other languages can be in the same type of interaction.

The difference lies in the inclusion and exclusion of addressees. The pronoun *wir* designates a group of people. While the speaker is always included. German does not grammaticalize whether or not the addressee¹¹⁵ is part of the referent, nor does it grammaticalize who is not. In some languages, for example, many Austronesian languages, such inclusion and exclusion of addressees is grammaticalized; it is built into the deictic system. In other words, while these languages use (at least) two different pronouns, one that includes and one that excludes the addressee, German has just one *wir*. Below is a brief schemata of grammatical exclusion and inclusion in these languages, together with an English example.¹¹⁶ It is meant to illustrate the differences between the pronominal system of the first person plural of these languages compared to that of the German system:

Table 1: First person plural pronouns in some languages other than German

exclusive "we" (I + others, but not addressee)	inclusive "we" (I + others, including addressee)
Example: We are going to the movies. See you later.	Example: We are going to the movies. Get ready and let's go.

¹¹⁵ A single addressee can also be perceived as a member of groups. Thus, with the pronoun, groups can be associated.

¹¹⁶ See also Bühler (1990: 159) for a discussion on inclusive and exclusive "we."

German speakers in my data cannot thus distinguish between inclusive and exclusive *wir*, which has two effects. First, they cannot include or exclude their addressees, including audiences, simply by use of the pronoun alone. If they do want to differentiate who is included and who is not, they must employ other resources, for example, other verbal resources, gesture, and eye gaze. Second. German speakers do not have to make a distinction between including and excluding their addressees; they can be ambiguous about the referents and leave it solely up to the addressees to include themselves in the social spaces that the deictics formulate.¹¹⁷

Thus, the speakers of German on the talk shows in my data have to cope with the fact that the same first person pronoun denotes different social spaces. At certain times, especially between November 1989 and October 1990, speakers are challenged because these spaces are not well-defined. Speakers are unable to determine to which “class of persons” (Bühler 1990) they belong. The borders between speech communities and national communities are no longer stable and German lacks the linguistic resources that can create unambiguous social reference. Bühler (1990) remarks on this characteristic of the pronoun “we”:

[‘We’] somehow requires the formation of a class of persons: the inclusive ‘we’, for example, requires a different group formation than does the exclusive ‘we’. But the formation of classes is precisely the prerogative of naming words, of the conceptual signs of language. (160)

Thus, the “construction” of social groups through deictics is not infinitely possible. It is limited by the availability of groups that are envisioned as collective identities. In the second sentence, Bühler suggests that these visions

¹¹⁷ Politicians often employ this feature of the deictic system in order to attract potential votes. (Fairclough 1995: 181)

precede naming. In addition, naming also fosters these visions: language reinforces the relationships between social spaces and speakers habitually enact these visions over time.

As the discussion in this chapter shows, the non-differentiation between inclusive and exclusive pronouns in German has an impact on the enactment of these visions. Although unspecified pronouns in German are inherently ambiguous, encyclopedic and historical knowledge from social contexts, verbal or gestural cues and cues from the co-text contextualize the pronouns in the speech situation. The question becomes how this contextualization affects the negotiation of meanings.

4.3.3 *Dieses* vs. *unser*: positioning within and outside social spaces

In the data analysis, I found that *dieses*¹¹⁸ (this) and *unser* (our) were important alternatives to be selected by speakers. The demonstrative pronoun *dieses* and the possessive pronoun *unser* differ from each other in their relationships to the speaker. *Unser* is similar to the first person plural pronoun *wir*; like *wir*, the German *unser* does not grammaticalize inclusion and exclusion of addressees. In contrast to *dieser*, *unser* makes the speaker part of the social space that its noun denotes; it potentially positions the speaker and the addressees

¹¹⁸ German nouns have three genders (masculine, feminine, and neuter) and four cases. The pronoun endings correspond in gender and case with the noun that the pronoun modifies. *Dieses* and *unser* are first person singular neuter pronouns, which I chose as the default for no particular reason.

in the same social space. In contrast, *dieses* positions the speaker and the addressees outside the denoted social space.

4.3.4 *Hier, drüben, dort* and *da*: positioning within and outside social spaces

Similar to pronouns, speakers select among the following locative-deictic adverbs in order to designate social spaces in German: *hier* (here), *drüben* (across the border or Wall), *dort* (there), and *da* (at that place, i.e. here or there).¹¹⁹ In narrative contexts addressing the relationship between the GDR and the FRG, the adverbs *hier* and *drüben* denote one country and the respective other country. While in such contexts, both *dort* and *drüben* denote the other social space, *drüben* more specifically evokes the relationship between GDR and FRG. *Da* can be used as an alternative to all three deictic adverbs. Even if embedded in a narrative context, it is non-specific and means either “here” or “there.” It does not position the speaker towards one or the other social space.

4.3.5 Non-specific *man*

The German *man*¹²⁰ denotes a single person or a group of people. Its semantic scope *man* includes that of *wir* but is even broader than the latter. This scope contains the following possibilities:

¹¹⁹ There is no single equivalent for the German *da* because it can mean either “here” or “there.”

¹²⁰ The German *man* can be translated by English “you” or “one.” In contrast to “one,” German speakers employ *man* much more frequently than English speakers employ “one.” *Man* is also less stilted than the English “one.”

- a group of people including the speaker and including or excluding the addressee, i.e. used like *wir* (see examples above)
 - a group of people excluding the speaker
- Example: Hat man in der DDR immer Bananen gegessen?
 Did people in the GDR always eat bananas?
- the speaker him- or herself exclusively
- Example: Da hat man wieder den ganzen Tag gearbeitet.
 I have been working the whole day again.
- some other person
- Example: Wann wird man denn fertig?
 When are you going to finish?

In contrast to *wir*, the pronoun *man* leaves more options in its scope of reference. In principle, it can be contextualized to denote any possible person or group constellation. Speakers employ *man* as an alternative to a more specific person formulation. It is an alternative that requires more interpretive work from interlocutors and thus takes some responsibility of the speaker because the speaker makes the referent less specific.

4.4 THE ROLE OF DEICTICS IN THE INTERACTION: DATA ANALYSIS

4.4.1 Organization of the data

This part of the chapter presents the results of data analysis. I generally follow the same organization that I used to explain the German deictic system. The first section focuses on the way speakers employ the pronoun *wir* in the interaction. A discussion of *dieses* and *unser* as alternatives follows. After that, I focus on locative adverbs in the interaction and, finally, on the indefinite pronoun *man*. This organization does not always allow to follow a chronological order of

data segments but I made this choice because I wanted to compare how speakers employed similar deictics in segments years apart from each other. Within the single sections, I arrange the data segments in chronological order from the past to the present. I start this part of the chapter by recalling the relationships between the GDR and the FRG before November 9, 1989. For this purpose, I present the first data segment outside the general organization; this segment contains several deictics and I will touch on all of them in order to introduce the problems that I discuss in more detail further below.

4.4.2 *Hier* and *wir*: Social spaces before November 1989

With the opening of the borders on November 9, 1989, the relatively stable relationship between GDR and FRG started to be in flux.¹²¹ Different visions of the relationship between these communities and the organization of the social space “Germanness” flourished until unification on October 3, 1990.

This organization of the social space had consequences for the use of deictics. Before November 9, 1989, the social deictics *hier* and *wir*, for example, referred to the GDR and the FRG for the speakers within each country.¹²² After that date, competing visions of “Germanness” became reflected in the competing referents for these deictics.

Data segment 4.1 from September 23, 1989 exemplifies how the demarcation of the social space contextualizes the speaker’s deictics *wir hier* (we

¹²¹ see also section 1.3.1.

¹²² Even before 1989, however, people who moved between the countries were sometimes in between the *wir* of one or the other country (cf. data segments 4.13.a-f).

here) and *unser Land* (our country) vs. *DDR*. The speaker is from the FRG and includes himself in the social space denoted by *wir*. Interestingly, the speaker reveals a vision of that social space FRG that is not a homogeneous *wir*. Preceding the segment, I list all panel guests on the talk show because they, and their histories, are important in the analysis.

Data segment 4.1:

Nachtkafe (DN 111) September 23, 1989, Fernsehen S3
place: castle *Favorit* near Ludwigsburg (FRG)

TS... talk show host (Wieland Backes)

GK... Gisela Kraft (moved from the FRG to the GDR in 1984, author)

MA... Martin Ahrends (moved from the GDR to the FRG in 1984, journalist)

HB... Herman von Berg (moved from the GDR to the FRG, used to work for *SED* think tank)

JK... Jeanette Kretzschmann (GDR refugee)

AM... Andreas J. Müller (satirist, moved from the GDR to the FRG)

BT... Barbara Thalheim (GDR singer, lives in the GDR)

- 1 TS: wie registriert **man** das eigentlich **in der DDR**. (.)
 how do **you** perceive that **in the GDR**. (.)
- 2 ehm (.) es gibt ja des etwas zynische Wort von der
 uhm (.) there is this slightly cynical saying of
- 3 letzte macht das Licht aus. (.) eh wie ist das -
 the last one turns off the light. (.) uhm how is it-
- 4 **wir** empfinden **hier** >also jetzt mal ganz einfach so aus
 we perceive **here** >well just simply based on
- 5 **meinen subjektiven Empfinden** heraus< **wir** empfinden
 my subjective perception< **we** preceive
- 6 **hier** dass **unser Land** immer voller wird jetzt nicht
 here that **our country** is getting more and more crowded
- 7 wegen der DDR Fluechtlinge allein- (.) eh sondern
 not because of the GDR refugees alone- (.) uhm but
- 8 wegen vieler Faktoren.
 because of several factors.

In line 1, TS formulates the social space GDR with its people: *man... in der DDR*. Contextualized by the place *DDR*, the ambivalent *man* denotes the people in and of the GDR. This formulation, as an alternative to a nominal identity assignment such as *DDR Bürger* (GDR citizens), is consequential for his addressees. Thus, TS's question, which is addressed to all studio guests, includes GK as an addressee. Somebody like GK, who has lived in the GDR but moved from the FRG, may neither be able to nor may want to call herself *DDR Bürger*. However, GK is included in this formulation because of her presence in the interaction.

In contrast to the people in the GDR, *wir hier* (1.4) emerges as the social space FRG. While the scope of the adverb *hier* is usually indefinite and the adverb may also refer to the locality, for example, the talk show as place or the town, *hier* is contextualized as the FRG community in its contrast to the GDR community. Later on, in lines 5-6, *wir hier* is further specified through *unser Land*. Since the GDR and the FRG, at the time of speaking, were two separate countries, *unser Land* unambiguously designates the FRG. In addition, since the speaker is from the FRG, *unser* is contextualized as limited to the FRG. Thus, the speaker's identity as unmistakably an FRG citizen provides an important cue for the referent of the deictics.¹²³

The segment also shows that the pronoun *wir* denotes the referent as homogeneous and that speakers have to do additional work in order to break up this homogeneity. TS does so in lines 4-5 with his formulation *aus meinem*

¹²³ If GK employed the same phrase *unser Land* in this narrative context, the deictic would be rather ambiguous. GK's identity is not as easily identifiable as an FRG citizen since she had moved from the FRG to the GDR and had lived there for five years already.

subjektiven Empfinden. TS reformulates the perception of a collective identity as a personal perception. By so redressing the homogeneity of the community, the speaker indexes that other perceptions can be expected among people of the FRG community, some of whom may be among those addressed. Thus, TS projects an image of the community that is heterogeneous; part of the *wir* is, in fact, not included in the *wir*. After he redresses, however, he again formulates a group perception (*wir hier unser Land*), again making himself the spokesperson for the FRG community.

In data segment 4.1, the contrast between *wir hier* and *man.. in der DDR* corresponds to the contrast between FRG and GDR at the time of speaking. Thus, co-present people who have moved between the countries do not necessarily fit into these categories. For example, while the speaker is included in *wir*, it is not clear from the pronoun if the people who moved to the FRG or left the FRG are included also. The non-specific nature of the German pronoun *wir* leaves options for inclusion or exclusion of individuals similar to *man*.

4.4.3 HETEROGLOSSIC AND COMPETING WIRS (UNS)

4.4.3.1 *Wir and the talk show setting*

At the beginning of talk shows, talk show hosts often welcome studio guests and television audiences. A common way to formulate these welcomes is: *Wir begrüßen Sie hier* (We welcome you here). While this is a commonplace

employed in talk shows,¹²⁴ the sentence takes on specific meanings as a result of the changing social contexts in East and West Germany after November 9, 1989.

While this commonplace is employed to describe arrivals of people at the setting, it is also contextualized through the speaker's relationships to social spaces at the moment of speaking. For example, when the talk show host formulates him- or herself as part of *wir*, the pronoun makes the talk show host's group memberships relevant. Since the talk show host embodies several group memberships (see section 2.7.2), the pronouns *wir* and *Sie* as well as the adverb *hier* become heteroglossic in the sentence, *Wir begrüßen Sie hier*. While *wir* refers to the talk show team, the talk show host's relationship to eastern and western German social spaces as part of his or her habitus may also contextualize the pronoun. Thus, *wir* spoken by a western German talk show host may be heard as referring to western Germans as a group. Similarly, *Sie* may not only denote the guests in their role as guests but also in their relationship to eastern or western Germany. Finally, *hier* can be heard as referring to the studio setting but, at the same time, it is contextualized in reference to social spaces also, which may be West Germany and East Germany as separate places.

With the physical arrival of many East Germans on West German talk shows, the sentence recalls the social relationship between East and West Germany. East Germans are those who arrive in West Germany. While the guests arrive from elsewhere, the talk show host is already at the point of arrival.

¹²⁴ The sentence is never used on *MDR* talk shows. *MDR* talk shows start out with focusing on one guest without introducing or welcoming all the other panel guests on the show. Thus, a comparison between eastern and western talk shows is not possible in this regard.

The sentence becomes a metaphor for a conceptual arrival even without the speaker's awareness.

4.4.3.2 *Same pronouns for different social and symbolic spaces*

The discussion of the following data segment shall demonstrate how the same first person plural possessive pronoun *unser-* (our) denotes different social spaces through the speakers at a time when the future of the German national identity was undetermined.

The segment is an excerpt from a talk show that aired on February 27, 1990, three weeks before the first free elections in East Germany.¹²⁵ The talk show is obviously a pre-election forum to attract votes for the *CDU*, the governing party in West Germany at that time, that would also run in the upcoming elections. The talk show is produced by *ZDF*, a West German TV station, with talk show hosts from West Germany. The place of production, however, is in East Germany; it is an assembly hall of a company in East Berlin. The talk show audience consists mostly of workers from that company and of people from East Berlin. Panel guests are West German politicians and company managers. The talk show host, at the beginning of the program, says that the show is "offering East Germans the opportunity to ask questions concerning the West German social and economic system" (trans. G.L.). Everybody among the East German studio audience can indicate that they want to ask a question and can be assigned a turn by the talk show production team. The segment starts with a

¹²⁵ See section 3.4.1.1 for a discussion on parts of the same segment.

Data segment 4.2:

place: company **VEB Elektronische Bauelemente** in Berlin-Teltow (East Berlin)

NB...Norbert Blüm (Secretary of Labor of West Germany)

A?... several unidentified East Germans in the audience

- ¹²⁶ Laughter as one way of audience's affiliative response in public discourse can be a resource for demonstrating alignments (cf. Atkinson 1984 for ways of inviting affiliative response).

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accepted but had to repeat a year of

7 Praxis nachholen
practical training

8 TS: das ist natürlich ne sehr spezielle Frage (.) ich
that is of course a very specific question (.) I

 * TS points towards panel

9 weiß nicht ob der hier
am not sure whether the expert

13 versammelte Sachverstand dafür geeignet ist
knowledge gathered here is sufficient for answering it

14 NB: [insgesamt ich mein - unterschätzen Sie mich nicht=
[altogether I mean - don't underestimate myself=

15 A?: [audience' laughter

16 NB: =Herr Jungblut
= Mister Jungblut

17 A?: [audience' laughter

18 TS: [(s war ein Versuch)
[(it was an attempt)
[

19 NB: [ich mein wir müssen jetzt auch in ~~unserem~~ Kopf die
[I mean we must now get rid off the wall in **our**

20 Mauer wegnehmen (0.1) in Zukunft darf es nicht
heads (0.1) in the future there shouldn't be

21 mehr zweierlei Ärzte - DDR und Bundesrepublik
two kinds of doctors - gdr and federal

22 geben = da gibts nur noch Ärzte in
republic=then there will only be doctors

23 Deutschland = ich mein so müssen **wir** überhaupt=
in germany = i mean **we** must generally =

24 **wir** haben immer noch die Mauer in ~~unserem~~ Kopf **wir**
we still have the wall in our heads **we** need

25 brauchen ein einheitliches Berufsrecht das ganz
a uniform law concerning professions which is

26 unabhängig is ob jemand in Halle wohnt (0.1)
independent of whether somebody lives in halle (0.1)

27 oder in Frankfurt am Main dafür arbeite ich
 or in frankfurt am main thats what i am working for

A's *unser-* (l.2) and NB's *unser* (l.19 and 24) are different in their referents. This difference comes in part with the speaker's habitus but also with the way that these pronouns are contextualized through the co-texts and the social contexts. In contrast to data segment 4.1, none of the pronouns in segment 4.2 is specified. This non-specification leaves a potential ambiguity that I will address below.

Several cues provide for an understanding that A's *unser-* (l. 2) denotes the group of East Germans. The first cue is the turn organization on the talk show: East German studio guests ask the questions and West German experts answer. Thus, the person asking is assumed to be an East German. Second, at the time of speaking, in February 1990, East Germany and West Germany still existed as two different countries. Thus, since the speaker narrates in the present tense, the pronouns are contextualized by the social spaces at the time of speaking. Third, in this turn, the speaker narrates East German experience and compares the situation that doctors presently face to the situation doctors faced in the GDR.¹²⁸ A's pronoun *unser-* refers to a group of people exclusive of West German addressees. The speaker formulates himself as a spokesperson for East Germans.

¹²⁸ The formulation *die Ärzte die ausgewandert sind* (l. 5) refers to doctors who emigrated from the GDR to the FRG. Although *ausgewandert* does not linguistically encode emigration from the GDR to the FRG, co-text provides for this understanding since the degrees these doctors received in the GDR were not accepted in the place of arrival (the FRG). The word selection *ausgewandert* is interesting because *auswandern* was less common to describe the process of emigration from the GDR to the FRG than *rübergehen* (move to the country across the GDR-FRG border). Formulations of such border crossings are the focus of Chapter Five.

The scope of the pronoun includes the East German co-present studio audience as well as the community that surrounds the talk show place, East Germany. The television audience at that time consisted most likely of East Germans and West Germans, in which case A's *unser-* is also exclusive of the West German TV audience.

NB's *unser-* (l.19) is different in scope than A's *unser-*. NB's *unser-* cannot be restricted to East Germans only because the speaker, NB, is himself West German. Thus, the speaker's habitus contextualizes the pronoun as including East and West Germans in its scope. In addition, NB's *unser-* is embedded in the metaphor *die Mauer in unserem Kopf* (the Wall in our heads). This metaphor was very common at the time and referred to the prevailing mental concept of the division between East and West Germans after the physical Wall was torn down on November 9, 1989. Through the metaphor in the segment, NB formulates a symbolic social space that potentially includes both East and West Germans without specifically formulating this group. Thus, the pronoun *unser-* opens up a space of identification for East Germans on the show and for East German TV audiences with a community consisting of East and West Germans together. At the same time that NB opens up this space for identification, he denies the possibility of East Germans as a group separate from West Germans. The collective *unser-* is all-inclusive; it projects homogeneity and a common perspective.

NB's all-inclusive *unser-* has implications for an emerging unified group of East and West Germans during a time when legal unification was one of several visions and the one that got legalized on October 3, 1990. NB's

formulation is one of the linguistic precursors of this unification. The inclusive, but unspecified, “we” is also a common way that politicians use to construct symbolic spaces for future votes, as is certainly the case in this talk show. NB continues to do so throughout the end of his turn by contextualizing another *unser-* (l. 24) and several *wirs* (ll. 23 and 24), which I now want to briefly discuss.

All *wirs* in NB’s turn are formulated as agents in the unification process. In line 23, however, NB cuts off before he says which activity “we must do.” He cuts off before projecting the activity that has to be done by a “we” as agent. In his restart (l.24), he repeats the metaphor of the “Wall in our heads,” which he formulated before (ll.19-20). This is interesting because both East and West Germans are said to have “the Wall” in their heads and can both work on tearing it down. However, it may be difficult to formulate other activities that East and West Germans “must do” together at that time. The cut-off is followed by an utterance describing the state of being (“we still have the wall in our heads”) that is followed by an utterance projecting a need (“we need a uniform law”). The last *wir* (l. 24) that NB enunciates is embedded in the formulation of this need: *wir brauchen ein einheitliches Berufsrecht*.¹²⁹ Since it is an all-inclusive *wir*, NB employs the voice of the collective to formulate this need. Urban (1986) argues that this rhetorical figure is typical of political speech:

For [the interplay between inclusive and exclusive *we*] is what makes the voice of the few appear to be the voice of the collectivity. A particular set of ideas, a particular plan for action comes in this way to be the accepted general plan. The speaker/author takes credit, and yet simultaneously converts the individual achievement into a collective product. (10)

¹²⁹ At this point, NB finally addresses A’s question.

NB formulates his “plan” through the inclusive *wir* as the plan of a collectivity consisting of East and West Germans. He creates this symbolic space, in which both East and West Germans are included, at a time when unification of East and West Germany is not yet finalized. Thus, this voice of collectivity created through the pronouns is very powerful in suggesting unification.

The pronoun is a powerful resource to present a plan of action through a voice of collectivity in this context of social changes in Germany for another reason. This reason is that the collective, unspecified, and inclusive *wir* is familiar to the East German audiences from political speeches in East Germany. In this context, the *wir* is from the “same” German language, however, from a different genre. Thus, NB presents the audience with a familiar pronoun (though a different voice) in which the audiences are subsumed with the speaker in one “unifying we” (Crowley 1987). In contrast to nominals and a specified *wir*, the unspecified *wir* hides the fact that the referent has changed.

4.4.3.3 *Stability as a property of pronouns*

The two speakers in each of the following two segments employ pronouns differently, once without and once with specification. On this show aired on September 20, 1990, two weeks before the legal unification between East and West Germany took effect, the two speakers index two different social spaces with these formulations. As becomes clear through the analysis, the specification of the pronouns is a necessary tool to formulate these differences.

Both data segments 4.3 and 4.4 are from the same talk show. The panel guests are young Europeans who discuss the impact of unification on a future Europe. The main panel guests are from different (western) European countries: they gather around two bar-like tables. The two speakers in the segments, both East Germans who live in East Germany at the time of speaking, are placed at a different table away from the others. Interestingly, this arrangement symbolizes through the individuals that East Germany is not yet part of western Europe: the speakers are still not in the inner circle. Besides panel guests, studio guests can volunteer to speak and can get turns assigned to them by the talk show hosts. The studio audiences consist of a mixed group of West and East Germans, *Übersiedler*, and those who stayed in the GDR/East Germany.

Based on the analysis of the two segments below, it seems that the talk show production team may have organized some “planned” diversity of social identities on the talk show. The two East German speakers display different concepts of social spaces of “Germanness” that prevailed at the time, when unification on October 3, 1990 was only two weeks ahead. The first speaker (A1), in data segment 4.3, identifies herself with a group of East Germans who are separate from West Germans. The second speaker (A2), in data segment 4.4, projects an image of a unified Germany. In the discussion below, I compare how the speakers formulate these images. I focus on the use of pronouns and, in the second segment, also of place terms. The second segment follows the first one a few minutes later in the show. A1 joins the discussion when participants have talked about the process of unification and have argued if November 9, 1989, the

opening of borders, or October 3, 1990, the day of the up-coming unification. is to be celebrated in the future.

Data segment 4.3:

Doppelpunkt: "Europa" (DN 192), September 20, 1990
place: Frankfurt/M. (West Germany)

A1... audience member (woman)

- 1 A1: mir wärs lieber gewesen das Ganze wär etwas langsamer
 I would have liked it better if it would have
- 2 gegangen daß **wir** och mit mehr Souveränität hier
 proceeded a little more slowly that **we** could have
- 3 reingehen könnten und mit mehr Würde was jetzt nicht
 entered with more character and with more dignity
- 4 übrig bleibt (.) und der dritte Oktober als Feiertag
 which has not prevailed (.) and the third of October
- 5 muss **ich** sagen für mich wäre wahrscheinlich der
 as holiday **I** must say for me the ninth of November
- 6 neunte November eher n Anlass gewesen weil der- der
 would have rather been an occasion because the- the
- 7 neunte November als die Mauer **gefallen ist** das haben
 ninth of November as the Wall **fell** that was really
- 8 wirklich **unsere Bürger** geschafft und das war wirklich
 (sth.) that **our citizens** managed and that was really
- 9 was .hh wo **wir** uns frei **gefühlt haben**
 sth. .hh where **we** felt free

A1's pronouns *wir* (l.2), *unser-* (l.8), and *wir* (l.9) are contextualized through A1 herself, the co-text, and the social context at the time. A1 was introduced as an East German earlier on the show. She would have to do additional work to reformulate this identity labeling for her. Thus, *wir* and *unser-* include East Germans in their scope, though this scope could potentially be larger.

for example, it could refer to East and West Germans together. But as I argue, this is not the case. In lines 1-3, A1 talks about the unification process and her *wir* (1.2) indexes a group who “enters (i.e. joins)” (*reingehen*, 1.3) something. This “something,” though not further specified, has to be West Germany because the co-text is about German unification. The pronoun *wir* is contextualized through the agency in “entering,” because, as was known from the social situation at the time, East Germany “enters” West Germany and not the other way around.¹³⁰

This contextualization of *wir* (1.2) itself becomes a cue for the referent for the following *unsere Bürger* (1.8) and *wir* (1.9). *Unsere Bürger*¹³¹ are constructed as the agents in the opening of the borders on November 9, 1989. Here, the agency is not a definite cue to *unser-* as East Germans because one may argue that also West Germans, in fact, Europe and the Soviet Union, caused the opening of the borders (see section 1.3.1). The fact that A1 does not have an exclusive pronoun available, and that she does not specify *unser-*, makes the scope of the pronoun potentially inclusive of others besides East Germans. This is especially the case since A1’s addressees are East and West Germans as well as other Europeans. However, the contextualization of *wir* as East Germans earlier also contributes to a contextualization of *unser-* as referring to East Germans.

The last *wir* in this segment (1.9) is contextualized through the relationship that the speaker establishes between the narrated time and the present moment of

¹³⁰ German unification on October 3, 1990, took place as East Germany joined West Germany on the basis of West Germany’s constitution. (see section 1.3.1)

¹³¹ While *wir* (1.2) constructs the group of East Germans, *unsere Bürger* formulates this group as part of the country East Germany. In fact, A1 makes herself a spokesperson for that country.

speaking. The speaker compares different feelings of this same group the *wir* denotes: their freedom in the past implies that they are not free at the moment of speaking. Here, again, the social context at the moment of speaking contextualizes this group as East Germans, when discourses of East Germans being dominated by West Germany prevailed in discussions of unification and the future of Germany.

An important property of pronouns becomes obvious when considering the relationship between narrated time and the present moment of speaking. A1 narrates a past event, the fall of the Wall, using German present perfect *gefallen ist* (1.7) and *geföhlt haben* (1.9). The social groups constructed by the pronouns are those of the past. However, these groups are projected into the present moment of speaking through the speaker; A1 is included in the *wirs* and in *unser-*. The pronouns “pretend” that the groups of past and present denoted by *wir* and *unser-* are the same. In other words, as Langacker (1987) points out, pronouns do not formulate relations.¹³² For the speech situation in data segment 4.4, one could argue that the groups of the past and present, which the speaker formulates, are still the same; two weeks before unification, East Germans and West Germans are still two separate political communities. Thus, the pronouns have their “real” groups in the social context. However, with unification, the social context suddenly changes and combines these two groups. Thus, this property of the pronouns becomes even more crucial after unification, as the later discussion will demonstrate.

¹³² Relations are formulated, for example, by adjectives. Consider the adjective *ehemalige* (former) added on to *ehemalige DDR* (former GDR). Here, a relationship between the place of the past and the present moment of speaking is formulated.

With the discussion on the following data segment 4.4. I will show how speakers can partly control this property of the pronoun by specifying it through a modifier. Data segment 4.4 follows segment 4.3 minutes later on the same talk show. The speaker is also from East Germany.¹³³ In contrast to A1, he specifies the pronoun *wir* in order to formulate a different identity than A1.

Data segment 4.4:

Doppelpunkt: "Europa," (DN 192), September 20, 90
place: Frankfurt/M. (?) (West Germany)

A2... audience member (East German, with a Saxon accent)

- 1 A2: aber generell haben **wir als Land** die Chance ganz
 but generally **we as country** have the chance to
- 2 neu anzufangen... in bezug auf das vereinte Europa
 start completely new...in regard to unified Europe
- 3 muss **Deutschland- das geeinte Deutschland** dann ebend
 Germany- the unified Germany must then just be
- 4 die wirklich- ne Kraft sein
 the real- a power

The specification of the pronoun *wir als Land* (l.1) is essential in the designation of groups through the pronoun. *Wir* could potentially be heard as referring to East Germans because the speaker had been introduced earlier as East German, and because A2 speaks after A1 who was introduced on the same talk show as belonging to the same group as A2, East Germans. A1's pronouns denoted the group of East Germans. A2, however, wants *wir als Land* to mean the community of the unified Germany, which only becomes clear when he re-specifies in line 3: *Deutschland- das geeinte Deutschland*.¹³⁴ Especially the

¹³³ While he was introduced as East German at the beginning of the show, he may also be recognized as East German through his Saxon accent.

¹³⁴ In section 6.3.1.1, I discuss this segment again with a focus on the place terms.

second place term *das geeinte Deutschland* makes clear that A2 wants to formulate the social space as a combination of East and West Germans. A2 formulates a space that will only appear in the future with unification. The formulation *wir als Land* is heteroglossic, since it potentially refers to A2's country at the moment of speaking, that is, East Germany, as well as a future unified Germany. Together with the place terms (1.3), the speaker is able to make himself heard as proclaiming upcoming unification. The pronoun thus specified is not static, i.e. the one of the past, but receives a new meaning.

4.4.3.4 Heteroglossia: wir plus wir is wir

Since October 3, 1990, East Germany and West Germany have been politically unified. The "social" pronoun *wir* had received a new meaning through this social change; it has become the unified *wir* in present-tense narrations. However, the separate social conditions in eastern and western Germany still make the pronoun appear to be heteroglossic rather than monolithically unified in some later data segments.

The following segment 4.5 is taken from a talk show that aired seven months after unification, on May, 12, 1991. The place of production is the *Interconti Hotel* in Berlin (West). The general topic of the talk show is the closing of theaters in (eastern and western) Germany. Besides the two talk show hosts, there are four guests from western Germany and one guest from eastern Germany on the panel.¹³⁵ The data segment is the introduction of the topic by

¹³⁵ See section 3.4.4 for the introduction of the guests.

one of the talk show hosts. The pronoun “we” appears in the formulation *bei uns* (here where we are). This German prepositional phrase *bei uns* is a combination of a place and a person formulation. It combines the locational preposition *bei* (at) with the pronoun *wir* in the dative to create the formulation *bei uns*. With its property to combine person and place formulations, it evokes the reference to a place as well as to a group, a property that I will further discuss below.

Data segment 4.5:

Talk im Turm, May 12, 1991, Sat 1
place: Berlin (West)

TS... talk show host

- 1 TS: guten abend meine Damen und Herren herzlich willkommen
 good evening ladies and gentlemen welcome
- 2 zu Talk im Turm heute aus dem Hotel Interconti. ob
 to Talk im Turm today from the Hotel Interconti.
- 3 Ihnen die Oper oder das Theater jetzt nun gefällt oder
 no matter whether you now like opera and theater or
- 4 nicht das ist völlig egal Sie sind trotzdem mit dabei
 not you will nevertheless have to pay your dues
- 5 an der Kasse.hh pro verkaufter Opernkarte legt bei uns
 at the cash register every sold opera ticket is
- 6 (.) **der Steuerzahler** noch einmal 100 Mark drauf .hh
 subsidized here where we are (.) by **the interest payer**
- 7 denn wenn die Oper das einspielen müßte was sie
 with 100 Mark because if the opera would have to be
- 8 tatsächlich kostet würde da keiner mehr hingehen weil
 be financed through the ticket price nobody would go
- 9 das zu teuer wäre.
 there because it would be too expensive.

With the formulation *bei uns* (1.5), the speaker obviously intends to designate the German community at the moment of speaking: unified Germany. This prepositional phrase, however, is heteroglossic in that it also evokes the voice of the western German community.

Several contextualization cues provide for a western German voice in addition to a voice of unified Germany. First, since the prepositional phrase formulates a place, *bei uns* can be heard as denoting the geographic area where the conversation takes place. This area is West Berlin. Thus, if the geographic location is identified as western Germany, *bei uns* may be heard as denoting western Germany.

Second, the panel guests on the show are all western German except for one guest who is eastern German. The eastern German identity of this one guest becomes relevant later on the show (see section 6.3.2.2). Also, in the preceding talk, the talk show host himself has evoked the categories of eastern and western German during the introduction of guests on the panel (see section 3.4.4). Thus, if interlocutors do membership analysis, the pronoun *uns* ('we,' dative case) may receive its meaning from the western German majority on the show in contrast to eastern Germans. The speaker also evokes this contrast because she put a stress on *bei uns* within her turn.¹³⁶

Third, *der Steuerzahler* (1.6) lives in the social space denoted through *bei uns*. At the time of speaking, however, eastern Germans and western Germans still received different incomes and paid different taxes. Thus, if *bei uns* denotes the unified Germany, it formulates a social space which, however, is demarcated

¹³⁶ The stress is indicated in the segment by underlining.

by the very economic differences that the speaker addresses. This economic context also provides for an understanding of *bei uns* as referring to western Germany.

The speaker does not indicate that she is aware of these heteroglossic voices associated with this pronoun. However, perhaps her stress on the prepositional phrase and her pause after it are an index of TS's attempt to initiate repair.¹³⁷ It can be assumed that this text has been prepared beforehand since it is the introduction of the topic at the talk show given by the talk show host. Therefore, it is the more surprising that no other formulation was chosen that could substitute for the heteroglossic *bei uns*.

4.4.3.5 *Wir and hier specifications in their functional context*

In order to make the reference of deictics more specific and take away some ambiguity from their referents, speakers can use a modifier together with deictics. For example, speakers can specify pronouns and adverbs with place and person classifications as speakers in several data segments above did (data segments 4.1 and 4.4). While an unspecified pronoun in German can be inclusive or exclusive, specifications delimit the scope of deictics and consequently exclude some group from these formulations.

Though this is not a quantitative analysis, my own observations suggest that specifications frequently occurred in 1989 and shortly after the opening of the

¹³⁷ Repair initiated by the speakers themselves is a speech mechanism where speakers cut off their speech and reformulate or restart. A pause is often part of a repair, the repair initiator. (See Chapter Six for a more detailed discussion on *repair*.)

borders. In addition, I noticed that specifications often appear on *MDR* talk shows in 1992. Thus, I decided to analyze these specifications in their specific functional context on these talk shows.¹³⁸

I have chosen to discuss one of these data segments from an *MDR* talk show in more detail. *MDR* talk shows always invite panel guests from eastern Germany and from western Germany in equal numbers.¹³⁹ Most studio guests are from the local area, Dresden and its surroundings. The speaker in segment 4.6 is a western German panel guest. The pronoun *wir* occurs in its accusative form (*uns*) in the prepositional phrase *für uns* (for us). The speaker uses the place name *Westen* (West Germany) as a modifier to make the referent of the pronoun exclusive of eastern Germans. In this segment, the speaker compliments the art scene in eastern Germany at the present moment of speaking.

Data segment 4.6:

MDR-Club, June 5, 1992

place: Dresden (eastern Germany)

P... panel guest (western German)

- 1 P: **es gibt** in den **Bundesländern** in den **neuen**
 there is in the **Federal States**- in the **NEW**
- 2 **Bundesländern** eine in der **DDR** doch sehr gewachsene
 Federal States a broad uhm art scene that has grown
- 3 breite eheh Kultur und die dürfen **wir** nicht kaputt
 in the **GDR** and **we** should not let it break down
- 4 gehen lassen **wir** müssen alles tun dass **hier** diese
 we must do everything that **here**
- 5 Strukturen nicht verkümmern denn das wäre **für uns**

¹³⁸ In this functional approach to group identification, I follow Barth as discussed in Streeck (1985).

¹³⁹ Enders (personal communication)

these structures do not deteriorate because **for us**

6 **für den Westen** finde ich doch unglaublich blamabel
 for the West that would be incredibly embarrassing

While the speaker narrates in the present (*es gibt*, 1.1), he uses place names to index the periods of the present eastern Germany (*neue Bundesländer*, 1.1-2) in contrast to the GDR of the past (*DDR*, 1.2).¹⁴⁰ The correction from *Bundesländer* to *neue Bundesländer* is also revealing because the first place name does not evoke western Germany, while the latter evokes *alte Bundesländer* in contrast to *Neue Bundesländer*.¹⁴¹ *Hier* (1.4), which refers to a social space of the present, is contextualized as eastern Germany through the reference to the art scene that “has grown in the GDR.” Thus, the differences in the past once more contextualize the deictics of the present.

The pronoun *wir* (1.3 and 4) is heteroglossic because it is contextualized by the present as well as the past. In the present, it refers to eastern and western Germans together (inclusive pronoun), especially since eastern Germans comprise the majority of the speaker’s addressees, the studio and TV audiences. In addition, at the time of speaking in 1992, two years after unification, the social deictic *wir* had developed a new meaning of the people of unified Germany. However, with the western German speaker and western Germany as the agent in the structural changes implemented in eastern Germany, *wir* is also contextualized as referring to this agent. Finally, the specification *für den Westen* (1.6) makes *für uns* (1.6) specific as referring to western Germans to the exclusion of eastern Germans. Since P emerges as part of the group that potentially lets “these

¹⁴⁰ For a similar use of place names, see data segment 3.12.

¹⁴¹ For similar corrections, see Chapter Six.

structures disappear,” his statement can be understood as a self-critique concerning the way that western Germany has taken over eastern Germany with unification.

The data segment makes clear that the unspecified pronoun *wir* (*für uns*) has the potential to include the audiences because it does not indicate inclusiveness and exclusiveness. The speaker potentially includes eastern Germans in the studio and in the television audiences as referents for the *wirs* in lines 3 and 4 because they are co-present.

What differentiates MDR talk shows from all the other talk shows is that the station as well as the studio are in eastern Germany. The audiences are predominantly eastern German. These audiences are included in the speaker's pronouns, embedded in present narrations, if the pronouns are not specified. As the analysis of the data segment has shown, only through specifications could these audiences be excluded.

The specifications on MDR talk shows seem to be functional. The specification in data segment 4.6 makes the utterance an apology to the eastern German audiences for the non-recognition of eastern German “structures” by western Germany. On talk shows with predominantly western German audiences, no such apology would be necessary. Functional specifications for the eastern German social space are also common on MDR talk shows such as: *bei uns in der ehemaligen DDR* (here with us in the former GDR), *hier nach Ostdeutschland* (here to eastern Germany), *wir hier im Osten* (we here in the East). On MDR talk shows in eastern Germany, the formulation of an eastern German space can be heard as making the experience of the majority audiences relevant. The group of

eastern Germans emerges in formulations also because the location (Dresden) has an eastern German past. For example, whenever *hier* is formulated (as in data segment 4.7), *hier* makes reference to this past social space and evokes social and economic differences to western Germany and its past. The eastern German majority and the location, that evokes past social spaces, may also foster a confidence among eastern German speakers to formulate eastern Germans as a group. In contrast, on talk shows in western Germany, eastern Germans appear as the competing social group to a social majority.

4.4.3.6 *Wir*: non-specification makes the past into the present

The following data segment is also from an MDR talk show. It exemplifies once more how pronouns, contextualized through the speaker's habitus, carry social spaces from the past to the present. While I focus on the unspecified pronoun *wir* in the accusative case (*uns*, l. 9), I will also discuss the place names in the example because there is an interesting interrelation between place names and pronouns. In addition, I discuss deictic adjectives as part of these place names.

Deictic adjectives, for example, *ehemalig* (former), added on to the old place name *DDR*, made it possible to index changes of the social space. These deictic adjectives have the property that they change place names from being static into being relational, i.e. they project a relationship between the present and

the past.¹⁴² Thus, while the adjective implies change from the past to the present, it also evokes past social spaces in the present. Most importantly, adjectives such as *ehemalige* position the speakers in the present and imply their distance to the past.

The following data segment 4.7 is from an *MDR* talk show that aired on August 21, 1992. The panel guest on this *MDR* talk show is Franz Beckenbauer (FB), former coach of the West German national soccer team. In this conversation, FB describes the GDR soccer teams in positive terms to the eastern German audience. My focus in the discussion below are the temporal-deictic adjectives and the first person plural pronoun *uns* (l. 9).

Data Segment 4.8:

MDR talk show, August 21, 1992 (replay, original: *MDR-Club* January 3, 1992)
place: Dresden (eastern Germany)

FB... Franz Beckenbauer (coach of the West German national soccer team)

TS1...Talk show host (Barbara Molsen)

TS2...Talk show host (Jan Hofer)

KB... Prof. Kurt Biedenkopf (Minister President of Saxony)

??... other speaker(s) on the panel

FB nods his head

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 | TS1: bleiben wir doch mal bei gutem Fußball (...) nun ist
lets stick with [the topic] good soccer (...) now |
| 2 | ja Deutschland größer geworden (.) was sagen sie denn
Germany has grown (.) what do you think about |
| 3 | zu dem <u>Fußball</u> in den neuen Bundesländern
<u>soccer</u> in the new Federal States |
| 4 | ?: ja das is wichtig |

¹⁴² All these adjectives, it can be argued, establish a relationship to the present implied in the contrasts between *ehemalige* (former) vs. *jetzige* (present); *frühere* (former, also: earlier) vs. *spätere* (later); and *damalige* (former, also: back then) vs. *heutige* (today's).

yes thats important

- 5 FB: na gut eh die (.) **frühere DDR** hat ja immer schon:
 well yes uhm the (.) **former GDR** always had
- 6 gute Mannschaften gehabt auch eh die
 good teams also uhm the
- 7 Nationalmannschaft obwohl sie nie irgendwelche große
 national soccer team though it was never of big
- 8 Rolle gespielt hat sie- >war glaube einmal dabei bei
 importance it has- >was I think once part of the
- 9 der Weltmeisterschaft vierundsiebzig und hat se **uns**
 world cup seventy four and **we** were even beaten
- 10 ausgerechnet noch geschlagen,<
 to [our] surprise
- 11 ??: so ist es
 thats right
- 12 ??: () waren dabei
 () were there
- 13 FB: war ich dabei ja ja aber **es wurde** immer guter Fußball
 I was there yes yes but it **they** always **played** soccer
- 14 gespielt **es warn** da-da die Traditionsmannschaften
 well **there were** in that place-in that place the
- 15 Dynamo Dresden Magdeburg noch zu meiner Zeit Mitte der
 traditional teams Dynamo Dresden Magdeburg still
- 16 siebziger Jahre,
 during my time in the mid-seventies,
- 17 ??: genau
 exactly
- 18 FB: das waren so die Aushängeschilder des **damaligen DDR-**
 they were the star teams of the **former GDR-**
- 19 **Fußballs** auch die Nationalmannschaft hat keinen
 soccer also the national team has not played
- 20 schlechten Fußball gespielt
 bad soccer

hand movement (search)

21 TS1: eh wie denken sie denn wird sich **der: ehemalige**
 uhm how do you think will **the: former**

22 **Fußball in den- (.) in der ehemaligen DDR**
soccer in the- (.) in the former GDR

23 weiterentwickeln eh so daß die guten Spieler
 develop uhm so that the good players

24 abgezogen werden in die[gro-
 will be bought out by [big-
 [

25 FB: [das ist schon geschehen
 [thats already happened

26 ??: (laughter)

27 TS1: DAS ist schon passiert,
 THATS already happened,

28 FB: die Besten sin schon weg
 the best players are already gone

29 ??: (es gibt) aber noch einen Schritt weiter sie können
 but (there is) one step further they can also go

30 auch ins Ausland gehen ich glaube Sie haben ja selber
 abroad I believe you have problems yourself

31 Probleme gute Spieler hier zu behalten
 to keep good players here

32 FB: jaja sicherlich ich mein der erste Schritt jetzt mal
 yes yes sure I mean the first step now except

33 von den ganz guten **Spielern die eh in der DDR-**
 the very good **players who uhm in the GDR-**

34 **der ehemaligen DDR** gespielt haben ob Doll der zum
the former GDR played for example Doll¹⁴³ who changed

35 HSV ging
 to the HSV

36 ??: ja
 yes

37 FB: dann die beiden Leverkusener Kirsten und Thom

¹⁴³ The following are all soccer players' names: Doll, Kirsten, Thom, Rode, Sommer.

then both [players from] Leverkusen Kirsten and Thom

38 Frank Rode beim HSV
Frank Rode at the HSV

39 ??: [Sommer
[Sommer
[

40 FB: [es sin so - Sommer beim VFB Stuttgart das waren so
[its the case- Sommer at the VFB Stuttgart these were

41 die besten Spieler **eh des eh (.) des Ostens**
the best players **uhm from uhm (.) the East**

42 und die sind eh in die Bundesliga gewechselt
and they uhm changed to the Bundesliga¹⁴⁴

I will first discuss the selection of place names by the different speakers in relation to each other, focus on the deictic adjectives next, and then discuss the use of the pronoun *unser* (1.9).

In the use of place names among TS1 and FB, it is striking that the host employs place names that had been become used as official terminology¹⁴⁵ after unification on October 3, 1990, namely *neue Bundesländer* (1.3) and *ehemalige DDR* (1.22). Both are contextualized as denoting post-unification eastern Germany. When TS1 asks about the present situation of soccer in eastern Germany (11.1-3), BM answers with a narration about the past and uses *frühere DDR* (1.5). While the deictic *frühere* added to the place name *DDR* indexes the GDR's past, it is an ad-hoc creation, an alternative to the official place name *ehemalige DDR*.

In lines 13 and 14, FB employs an alternative to using place names denoting the former GDR, namely the passive constructions *es wurde* and *es*

¹⁴⁴ *Bundesliga* is the national soccer league in Germany today as well as in the former FRG.

¹⁴⁵ See section 3.3.1 on official terminology.

warn. In l. 18, he uses the temporal-deictic adjective *damalige* with *DDR-Fußball*, thus positioning himself in the present and the GDR-soccer in the past. TS1 does a similar positioning in l. 21-22. Here, she employs the “official” adjective *ehemalig* in an interesting slip of the tongue in *der: ehemalige Fussball in den- (0.1) in der ehemaligen DDR*.¹⁴⁶ While TS1 may be anticipating *ehemalige DDR*, she applies the adjective *ehemalige* also to *Fußball*. Her hand movement indexes that she feels the need to modify *Fußball*. The combination *ehemaliger Fußball*, however, is quite unusual and does not seem to make sense out of context, though it is meaningful in the segment as denoting soccer in the GDR. This slip of the tongue may also be a case of hypercorrection.¹⁴⁷ i.e. the application of *ehemalige* to anything in the GDR. At the same time, the speaker displays a stance; she distances herself from the GDR by employing *ehemalige* twice.

When FB refers to the GDR the next time in l. 33, he starts out with *in der DDR* and corrects himself to *in der ehemaligen DDR*. Here, FB, in contrast to his earlier use of *frühere DDR*, co-selects the place name suggested by the talk show host. Later on (l. 41), his selection of *des Ostens*, which denotes the GDR of the past (past tense: *waren*), seems carefully chosen, since he pauses and restarts.

¹⁴⁶ The cut-off after *den-* followed by a pause and the restart *in der ...* is also an instance of self-repair. I do not want to discuss the repair here but for similar repairs and a discussion, see Chapter Five.

¹⁴⁷ *Hypercorrection* is a term used to describe linguistic behavior in which speakers copy features of a more prestigious variety to the extent that the use of certain features goes beyond the “norm” of this variety.

Though he could have selected *ehemalige DDR* again, he chooses the place name *der Osten*, which is more colloquial and evokes the western German voice.¹⁴⁸

Last, I turn to the pronoun *uns* (l.9). The social space denoted by *uns* emerges with the speaker as the FRG community, since the narrated time is past tense, more specifically 1974. Since the speaker does not specify the pronoun to refer to the past, the social space of western Germany emerges with the western German speaker at the time of speaking. A possible specification would have been if the pronoun was combined with a place name that indexes the FRG (i.e. western Germany of the past), for example *damalige Bundesrepublik* (former FRG).¹⁴⁹ Without such specification, however, *uns* is potentially heard as the same social space in the present as in the narrated past.

4.3.3 Alternative selection: *Dieses* (this) vs. *unser* (our)

When I started analysis on the talk show data, I noticed a frequent use of *diese-* (this), especially in the combination *dieses Land* (this country). In contrast to the possessive pronoun *unser* (see above), the indefinite pronoun *dieses* positions speakers as well as audiences outside the discourse; it neither identifies the speaker nor the audiences with the object it modifies. In this regard, it offers an advantage in conversations between eastern and western Germans since it

¹⁴⁸ The term *der Osten* was not used as official term in the GDR; it was rejected as pejorative term. However, it was not only used by people in the FRG but also by people in the GDR in portraying the GDR negatively.

¹⁴⁹ The place formulation *damalige Bundesrepublik* is rare; it is not part of official terminology as *ehemalige DDR* is. The FRG of the past and the unified Germany are both referred to as *Bundesrepublik*.

avoids heteroglossia and it does not express relationships of inclusiveness and exclusiveness.

The first segment in this section is again from an MDR talk show. It follows segment 4.7 several minutes later in the show. The main speaker is again FB, the soccer coach as in data segment 4.6. The selection of *dieses* (l.16) is interesting in its alternative selection to *unser*.

Data segment 4.8:

MDR August 21, 1992 (replay, original: *MDR-Club*, January 3, 1992)
place: Dresden (eastern Germany)

FB... Franz Beckenbauer (former coach of the West German national soccer team)

TS...Talk show host (Barbara Molsen)

KB... Prof. Kurt Biedenkopf (Minister President of Saxony)

- 1 FB: ich mein Dynamo Dresden und Hansa Rostock sind die
 I think Dynamo Dresden and Hansa Rostock are the
- 2 beiden [eh Vertreter in der Bundesliga
 two [uhm teams in the Bundesliga
 [
- 3 KB: [ja
 [yes
- 4 FB: spielen eine nicht schlechte Rolle- ganz gute Rolle
 [they] play not a bad part- a pretty good part
- 5 Hansa Rostock so mal n paar Wochen sogar
 Hansa Rostock [was] for a few weeks even
- 6 Tabellenführer, Dynamo Dresden na gut die haben sich
 league leader, Dynamo Dresden well they have have
- 7 jetzt langsam von unten ein bißchen ins Mittelfeld
 slowly moved from below to the middle of
- 8 abgesetzt ich hoffe das die **drüben** bleiben (...) ja
 the league I hope that they stay **over there** (...) well
- 9 das auch dann wie Sie richtig sagten die andere
 that also as you rightly said before the other
- 10 Bewegung [das vielleicht paar **westdeutsche Spieler**

- movement [that maybe some **western German players**
[
- 11 TS: [Bewegung mal stattfindet
[movement takes place
- 12 FB: **in den Osten** eh gehen und das ist wichtig das sie
go to eastern Germany uhm and it is important that
- 13 in der Bundesliga verbleiben und das ist heuer
they stay in the Bundesliga and that is nowadays
- 14 schwierig weil viele absteigen und es steigen nur
difficult because many drop out off the league and
- 15 zwei auf .hh also ich bin aber trotzdem sehr
only two move up .hh but I am still very
- 16 zuversichtlich und ich hoffe eh für **den Teil dieses**
confident and I hope uhm for **the part of this**
- 17 **Landes** das die beiden in der Bundesliga bleiben
country that the two stay in the Bundesliga

Before I focus on ll. 16-17, I will briefly discuss *drüben* (l.8) and *in den Osten* (l.12). Though *drüben* can potentially denote either eastern or western Germany, it is contextualized here as eastern Germany because the co-text is about eastern German soccer players. At the place of speaking, eastern Germany is *hier* rather than *drüben*. For eastern Germans, to call *drüben* their own place evokes the western German voice, though most likely, the referent is rightly understood as eastern Germany since the voice positions the western German speaker in western Germany. In ll. 10-12, the speaker again adopts this western German voice when he describes moves of soccer players from western to eastern Germany.¹⁵⁰ Since the narration is in present tense, the locative adverb *drüben* and the place term *in den Osten* project past eastern and western social spaces as different in the present.

¹⁵⁰ In Chapter Five, I discuss these moves between the GDR and the FRG in their relevance to formulating eastern and western German identities.

The place classification *den Teil dieses Landes* (l.16) obviously refers to eastern Germany. In contrast to *neue Bundesländer* (new Federal States) and *ehemalige DDR* (former GDR), as in data segment 4.7, *den Teil dieses Landes* does not evoke the political history of eastern Germany, i.e. the GDR. Instead, the speaker formulates eastern Germany as region, as part of *dieses Land* like Bavaria and other regional areas.

In contrast to *unser Land*, the alternative, *dieses Land* neither indexes a relationship of the speaker nor the audiences to the referent, the unified Germany. In contrast, *unser Land*, would index the speaker's relationship to the referent *Land* and potentially include the eastern German audiences in the unified Germany of the present. The problem with *unser* is that it evokes heteroglossic voices discussed earlier in this chapter. Since the speaker is automatically included in the pronoun's scope, *unser* may potentially evoke the western German space. In addition, the western German speaker has a different relationship to a unified country *unser Land* than the eastern German studio and TV audiences have; the speaker's *unser* would potentially make him the agent in a discourse of western Germany's domination over eastern Germany. This could be heard as pride to have taken over East Germany, a view that his eastern German audiences may not appreciate.

With the following data segments 4.9, I go back in time to September 1989. *Dieses Land* is here used in reference to the FRG in a conversation between the talk show host, a person from the FRG, and a panel guest, a person who had moved from the GDR to the FRG five years before. The topic of their

conversation is MA's drawing, in which he portrays the FRG critically. In the discussion, I will draw attention to TS's use of *diesem Land* (this country. l.2).

Data segment 4.9:

Nachtcafé (DN 111), Fernsehen S3, September 23, 1989

place: castle *Favorit* near Ludwigsburg

TS... talk show host (Wieland Backes, from the FRG)

AM... Andreas J. Müller (satirist, moved from the GDR to the FRG in 1984)

- 1 TS: und auch das schönste Fachwerkhaus auf dem Lande
and even the nicest half-timbered house in the country
- 2 gehört in **diesem Lande** (.) einer Bank. so sehen Sies.
side belongs in **this country** (.) to a bank. thats how
you see it
- 3 AM: ja. äh- (.) erstens ist es wirklich so
yes. uhm- (.) firstly this is really the case

In reference to the FRG, TS uses *dieses Land* (l. 2) instead of *unser Land* (our country). One problem in using the personal pronoun *unser* would be that it potentially included the addressee AM because the pronoun does not grammaticalize inclusion or exclusion of the addressee. Thus, *unser* would potentially formulate both AM and TS as belonging to the same social space. Since AM moved to the FRG only five years before, his FRG identity may be debatable; he may still be considered a person from the GDR based on his experiences in that community, though his emigration to the FRG legally makes him a citizen of the FRG. Thus, AM and TS have a different relationship to that social space FRG; AM has not lived there for the longest part of his life. The pronoun *diese*- positions both of them outside the social space FRG.

In this same turn, TS formulates another difference between TS and AM in their relationship to the FRG. TS disapproves of AM's critical portrayal of

dieses Land through *So sehen Sie* (1.2). This phrase implies that TS is of a different opinion than AM. It is striking that TS uses *diese-* in co-text with this disapproval. Compared to *unser- Land*, *diese- Land* does not leave the option for AM to see himself included in the FRG. Thus, while TS positions himself as an outsider, he also positions AM as an outsider.

4.3.4. *HIER* AND *DRÜBEN* AS CHANGING SOCIAL SPACES

4.3.4.1 *Hier* is here

Sometimes, though not always in my data, speakers use *hier* in reference to their location at the present moment of speaking. The next two data segments exemplify such use, while section 4.3.4.2 focuses on uses where *hier* is not referential to the place of speaking but to conceptual spaces.

Data segment 4.10 is from a show that is produced by a West German TV station in East Germany. The speaker, the talk show host from West Germany, uses *hier* in reference to East Germany.

Data segment 4.10:
Fragezeichen (DN 123), March 21, 1990
 place: Erfurt (East Germany)

TS... Talk show host

- 1 TS: heute mal nicht aus dem Studio A in Mainz... wir sind
 today not from the studio A in mainz ... we are
- 2 zu Gast in **Erfurt**... wir wollen heute abend nach
 guests in **Erfurt** ... we want to ask tonight for
- 3 Gründen fragen wir wollen fragen nach Gründen warum

- reasons we want to ask for reasons why
- 4 bleiben **Menschen hier** warum sagen sie **meine Heimat** ist
 people stay here why they say **my home country** is
- 5 meine Chance, wir wollen aber auch fragen nach Gründen
 my chance, but we also want to ask for reasons
- 6 warum Menschen weggegangen sind
 why people have left

The deictic-locative adverb *hier* (l.4) is contextualized by the co-text and the social context at the time of speaking. *Hier* is contextualized through the co-text as East Germany; it is described as the place where people stay (*bleiben*, l. 4) as well as the place that people leave (*weggegangen sind*, l. 6). The speaker formulates the people who stay or leave as *Menschen* rather than through a more specific person classification. With the social context at the time and discourses about East Germans moving to West Germany after the opening of the border, the people are contextualized as East Germans. The speaker also contextualizes *hier* by using *meine Heimat* (l.6) in a quote of East Germans, i.e. as the East German voice. Since the talk show airs from East Germany, the talk show host's *hier* refers to the present location of speaking, East Germany, without heteroglossia, since FRG and GDR are still separate places.

In the following data segment from October 1992, the speaker's *hier* is potentially heteroglossic considering that the social spaces of past and present (unified Germany) overlap. The addressee, however, understands the reference as eastern Germany, the location at the present moment of speaking. The data segment 4.11 aired in and was produced by *MDR* in Dresden (eastern Germany).

Data segment 4.11:

MDR-Club, October 2, 1992
place: Dresden (eastern Germany)

TS1... talk show host 1 (Jan Hofer)
MK... Marianne Kiefer (actress, eastern German)

- 1 TS1: Frau Kiefer Sie sind im positiven Sinne doch
 Miss Kiefer you are in a positive sense
- 2 eigentlich ne Volksschauspielerin kann man das so
 rather a people's actress can one say
- 3 sagen
 so
- 4 MK: ja ich denke ja
 yes I think so yes
- 5 TS1: warum gibt es eigentlich keine Tradition des
 why is there really no tradition of a
- 6 Volkstheaters **hier**
 people's theater **here**
- 7 MK: die hat es zu **DDR-Zeiten** nicht gegeben wir haben darum
 [that tradition] was not there during **GDR times** we
- 8 gekämpft
 fought for it

TS's *hier* in 1.6 is not specified in its scope; since the time of speaking is 1992, two years after unification, its scope could very well include eastern and western Germany. However, the addressee, MK, understands *hier* to be exclusive of western Germany. While TS formulates his question for the present time. MK goes back in time and relates *hier* to the GDR (*DDR-Zeiten*). Consequently, she evokes the present space eastern Germany as the referent of *hier*.

In both segments 4.10 and 4.11, participants use and understand *hier* in its reference to the location at the time of speaking. The discussion in the following

section will show that deictic-locative adverbs denoting social spaces are not always contextualized as referring to geographic locations.

4.3.4.2 *Hier* is there and *drüben* is here

The following discussion demonstrates that the adverbs *hier* (here) and *drüben* (across the GDR-FRG border; over there) can be used to index social spaces other than their “geographic anchoring” suggests. By geographic anchoring I mean that *hier* is usually associated with the place of speaking and *drüben* (over there) usually denotes the more distant place. While *drüben* is similar to *dort* (there), in contrast to the latter, *drüben* implies a landmark, i.e. a border, fence, or a wall between “here” and “over there/across.” The data segments in this section show that *hier* can also denote a social space that is geographically more distant and *drüben* can denote a social space that is geographically closer.

In data segment 4.12, *drüben* is used in this sense and this use is specified by the speaker. The segment is from the same talk show as segment 4.10. The place of speaking is Erfurt in East Germany. Geographically, this place is *hier* whereas West Germany is *drüben*. In the segment, however, the talk show host uses *drüben* in reference to East Germany. I omitted a few lines from the segment that are not the focus of my analysis.

Data segment 4.12:
Fragezeichen (DN 123), March 21, 1990
place: Erfurt (East Germany)

TS... talk show host

- 1 TS: Jörg Feldhahn ... der im November
 Jörg Feldhahn ... who emigrated in November
- 2 neunzehnhundertneunundachtzig übergesiedelt ist ...
 nineteeneightyfour ...
- 3 mir gehts gut sagt er aber auch ich habs **drüben**
 I am doing fine he says but also it was easier for
- 4 °also in der DDR° leichter gehabt
 me **across the border** °in other words in the GDR°

The deictic-locative adverb *drüben* (l. 3) is specified through another place formulation: *also in der ddr*. The word *also* (in other words) that precedes this place formulation indicates that this is a reformulation of the previous word *drüben*. Thus, the speaker considers it necessary to specify *drüben*.¹⁵¹ In East Germany, the location of speaking, *drüben* would normally refer to the other country, to West Germany. The speaker uses *drüben* when she quotes somebody else's voice, namely that of the person who had left the GDR to live in the FRG. The author of this voice must have originally uttered these words in West Germany, so that, when TS repeats these words, a specification of the deictic *drüben* becomes necessary. Thus, the locative-deictic adverb *drüben* does not denote the place where the talk show takes place which may trigger the specification.

The specification reveals the speaker's awareness that she uses *drüben* differently from the way it is normally used. Though it seems that TS considers it necessary to specify because the deictic is otherwise not understood, other

¹⁵¹ The speaker displays that she inserts the specification in the normal speech flow by speaking it with lower voice than the rest, indicated in the transcript by degree signs.

examples (data segments 5.7 and 5.8) show that participants understand these deictics even if they are used in a way not anchored to the location of the setting. It is more likely that TS specifies because she talks in East Germany to predominantly East German audiences, for whom *drüben* in reference to their own place, East Germany, indexes the “other” or “foreign” voice. With the specification, TS can mitigate this “foreign” usage.

4.3.5 POSITIONING THROUGH *MAN* AND *DA*

As described above, *man* and *da* are deictics that are more ambiguous than other deictics. More specifically, *man* and *da* do not position speaker and interlocutors in relation to social spaces. *Man* can be used in reference to individuals or groups to the exclusion of speakers or including the speaker. *Da* can be contextualized as denoting “here” and “there” at the same time, which, in contrast to *hier* or *drüben*, does not index a position of the speaker. It can be assumed that *man* and *da* can be used in situations where the positioning of speakers in relation to social spaces becomes problematic and is to be avoided.

I have chosen segments from a talk show that was originally taped in 1982. An excerpt from this talk show, containing these segments, was replayed on August 19, 1994, almost four years after unification. In the introduction to the replay, the moderator urges Manfred Krug, the main guest in the segments, to accept an invitation to come back on the talk show. Since the talk show in 1982, Manfred Krug declined all invitations to appear again on a talk show produced by

the same station.¹⁵² During his appearance on the show in 1982, Manfred Krug and the talk show host discuss the relationship between the GDR and the FRG and negotiate the Manfred Krug's inclusion in and exclusion from social spaces.

Since the talk show was first aired in 1982, it is obviously a FRG production. In a panel of participants from the FRG Manfred Krug (MK) is the only person who had lived in the GDR which he left in 1977 after applying for emigration (*Ausreise*). At the time of the talk show, he had lived in the FRG for five years. MK's identity fits neither the GDR nor the FRG classification. Legally, MK can consider himself a FRG citizen on the basis of FRG's constitution (see section 1.3.1). But life in the GDR makes him an experienced insider of the GDR.

In the discussion of the following segments from the conversation in 1982 between the talk show host (TH) and Manfred Krug (MK). I focus on the formulation of MK's inclusion and exclusion to the social spaces GDR and FRG. Specifically, I pay attention to how MK employs the indefinite pronoun *man* and the deictic-locative adverb *da*, in contrast to other pronouns, place names, and person formulations. I present all data segments 4.13.a - 4.13.f in the order in which they appeared on the show. The first data segment, 4.13.a, starts with a question by the talk show host addressed to Manfred Krug.

Data segment 4.13.a:

III nach 9 (DN 205) N3, August 19, 1994 (originally aired in 1982 by the same station)

TH... talk show host

MK... Manfred Krug (actor)

¹⁵² I do not know if Manfred Krug appeared on talk shows produced by other TV stations.

- 1 TH: glaubn Sie tatsächlich dass **wir** uns überhaupt nicht
do you really believe that **we** haven't diverged
- 2 entfernt haben (.) von den **Leuten** die **in der DDR**
at all (.) from the **people** who have lived
- 3 ein paralleles Leben hinter sich gebracht haben?
parallel lives **in the GDR**?

The pronoun *wir* (l. 1) includes the speaker and refers to people in the FRG, since FRG and GDR were different countries at the time and formulated by the speaker as two different countries: "we" vs. "people in the GDR." The description for people in the GDR may include MK since he had lived in the GDR most of his life. In fact, the question makes Krug's experience in the GDR relevant. However, MK may also be included or include himself in the social space denoted by the pronoun *wir*. Since the German pronoun *wir* does not grammaticalize inclusion and exclusion of the addressee, it is not clear if the speaker wants to include the addressee in this space or not. Since MK had moved from the GDR to the FRG, he may consider himself a person from the GDR or from the FRG, or both. The latter, however, is not possible from the way that TH has set up the two groups as dichotomies in his question which leaves no room for MK to be "in between."

Through *glauben sie wirklich* (l.1), TH gives away his answer to the question and his assumption that MK does not believe in a divergence between the GDR and the FRG.¹⁵³ Since the question has a preference structure, MK's response will necessarily be an agreement or disagreement with TH. More importantly, it will be an assessment of his own identity. The conflict that MK

¹⁵³ I do not know if there was preceding talk in which MK formulated his opinion. The excerpt that was shown in 1994 does not contain preceding talk.

faces is having his personal identity tied to two national identities which have been set up as dichotomies. If MK aligns himself with TH in an argument about the FRG as having diverged from the GDR, this would index that TH resents a GDR identity and favors a FRG identity.

Data segment 4.13.b:

III nach 9 (DN 205) N3, August 19, 1994 (originally aired in 1982 by the same station)

TH... talk show host

MK... Manfred Krug (actor)

- 4 MK: überhaupt nicht kann **man** sicherlich nicht sagen
 one couldn't say [it hasn't diverged] at all but not
- 5 aber nicht so weit wie **man** annehmen:: sollte
 as much as **one** would think

In his answer, MK mitigates his disagreement with TH. The indefinite pronoun *man* plays an important role in this mitigation. The first *man* (l.4) refers to MK himself; the second *man* (l.5) denotes TH. The person formulations using *man* are indirect; they do not formulate speaker and addressee as specifically as nominals would do.

Data segment 4.13.c immediately follows data segment 4.13.b. MK proceeds with his turn in which he now employs *man* in reference to the politicians in the GDR.

Data segment 4.13.c:

III nach 9 (DN 205) N3, August 19, 1994 (originally aired in 1982 by the same station)

TH... talk show host

MK... Manfred Krug (actor)

- 6 MK: und auch nicht soweit wie **diejenigen** die mhm nun seit

- and also not so different than those believe who umh
- 7 Kriegsende die Bevölkerung der DDR erziehen (.)
since the end of the war educate the people in the
- 8 moralisch politisch erziehen glauben nich,
GDR morally politically,
- 9 irgendwann hat ~~man~~ ja mal angenommen es wäre ne Frage
sometime ~~one~~ assumed that it was a question
- 10 von zwei drei Generationen
of two or three generations

The pronoun *diejenigen* (1.6) denotes the authorities in the GDR and, in contrast to *man*, distances MK from this group of people. *Diejenigen* unambiguously excludes the speaker. In contrast, MK's *man* in 1.9 potentially includes MK again because this pronoun can denote the speaker or a group where the speaker is included. Since MK here formulates his experience in the GDR from an insider perspective and since he still disagrees with TH in whether or not the GDR and the FRG are different, MK's *man* can be an index for his alignment with the GDR as social space.

The following segment, 4.13.d, documents MK's difficulties to position himself in the social space FRG. I omit a few lines of MK's turn and start with line 17.

Data segment 4.13.d:

III nach 9 (DN 205) N3, August 19, 1994 (originally aired in 1982 by the same station)

TH... talk show host

MK... Manfred Krug (actor)

- 17 MK: die Leute zur Arbeit und zu dem Fleiß zu bringen von
to make the people go to work and motivate

18 dem Herr Kraus vorhin sprach da er er sagte dass
 them to be diligent as Mister Kraus said earlier

19 er **uns hier** fehlt oder **Euch hier** mirs es-jetzt
 a diligence that **we** lack **here** or **you** [lack] **here-**

20 mittlerweile rutscht mir schon en uns raus
 I am- now by now [the word] us slips out

21 °weil ich ja schon fünf Jahre **da** bin°
 °because I have been **in that place** for 5 years

22 eh **da** hat sich wenig verändert
 already° uhm little has changed **in that place**

In line 19, MK corrects his use of pronouns from *uns hier* into *Euch hier*. The first, *uns hier*, is MK's claim to be part of the social space FRG. He uses *uns hier* as embedded in reported speech; he quotes the voice of somebody from the FRG (Mister Krauss who is also on the show). With the second pronoun, *Euch hier*, MK excludes himself from the social space FRG. He then apologizes for having included himself (ll.20-21). In this apology, MK uses *da* (l.21), the deictic-locative adverb that can mean either "here" or "there," in reference to the FRG. In l.19, he had used *hier*, the more specific adverb, in reference to the FRG. He employs *da* again in l.22, but this time in reference to the GDR. Here again, as earlier with *man*, *da* may be seen as indexing MK's non-positioning and maybe his alignment with the GDR.

With the correction from *unser* to *Euer*, MK changes his positioning from an insider to an outsider of the group he addresses and from the social space that has become his place of living. Through this correction, he indicates that he is not sure if he can include himself to the group of people in the FRG or not. His

inclusion in the social space FRG, in fact, clashes with his earlier alignment with the GDR under the condition that FRG and GDR are considered different social spaces, as so formulated by TH.

MK continues his turn by comparing the GDR and the FRG. In this comparison, he focuses again on the similarities between GDR and FRG. In playing down the differences between the FRG and the GDR, MK again disagrees with TH.

Data segment 4.13.e:

III nach 9 (DN 205) N3, August 19, 1994 (originally aired in 1982 by the same station)

TH... talk show host

MK... Manfred Krug (actor)

- 23 MK: und auch dieses Deutsche eh was da eben in der
 and also this Germanness uhm that here/there¹⁵⁴ was
- 24 Hymnentafel so schön besungen worden ist im letzten
 was sung about in the hymn earlier in the last song,
- 25 Lied finde ich auch in **beiden Deutschlands** gleich
 I find that [this Germanness] in similarly strong
- 26 stark ausgeprägt
 ways in **both Germanies**

While MK compares the GDR and the FRG as similar, he also formulates these places as similar through the place name *beiden Deutschlands*(1.25). This place terminology portrays both countries GDR and FRG as German. In his following utterances of the same turn, MK continues stressing the similarities between GDR and FRG, which is again supported by his use of place

¹⁵⁴ This *da* is not used in reference to social spaces. It is anaphoric deixis, i.e. refers back to something earlier in the show.

terminology. The talk show host, however, in his response at the end of segment 4.13.f, uses MK's verbal selection as evidence for his argument that GDR and FRG are, indeed, different social spaces.

Data segment 4.13.f:

III nach 9 (DN 205) N3, August 19, 1994 (originally aired in 1982 by the same station)

TH... talk show host

MK... Manfred Krug (actor)

- 30 MK: aber diese dieses ganze (.) **Deutsche** das meine ich
 but all this this (.) **Germanness** I don't want to sound
- 31 jetzt gar nicht böse aber diese- die Freude
 mean now but this- the fun with one's
- 32 am eigenen- am Eigenheim am am am an der Datscha
 own- with the own home with with with the datscha
- 33 am Weekend-Haus usw. alle diese Dinge die das Leben
 with the weekend house all these things which make up
- 34 **in Deutschland** ausmachen die kommen mir eh gar nicht
 life **in Germany** they don't seem to me uhm so out- eh
- 35 weit voneinander entfernt aus - eh vor
 different from each other
- 36 TH: nur das **wir** Datscha **hier** Bungalow nennen
 only that **we** say bungalow for datscha **here**

In segment 4.13.f, MK continues to stress the similarities between the GDR and the FRG. MK contextualizes *Deutsche* (l.30) as referring to both the GDR and the FRG, though the word choice *Deutsche* and *Deutschland* could be heard as referring to the FRG only. Since the use of *Deutsche* und *Deutschland* was common in the FRG, MK's description of "Germanness" can be heard as a critique regarding the FRG only. In fact, his redress *das meine ich jetzt gar nicht böse* (ll. 30-31) indexes that MK anticipates resentment from his addressees and

frames his subsequent words as a critique. After all, one of his addressees is TH for whom GDR and FRG are different social spaces.

An indication for MK's difficulties in positioning himself can be seen in the enunciation of several different words for the same object, that is, "weekend house." The difference among the words lies in their origins and connotations attached to them; the word *Eigenheim* is of German origin, *Datscha* comes from the Russian word and is the term used in the GDR, and *Weekendhaus* is an English loan word. In line 36, TH mocks MK's linguistic choice and treats MK's enunciation of several words¹⁵⁵ as a sign for MK's non-committment to the FRG. In TH's turn (l.36), *wir* is used in reference to the FRG community but excludes MK. TH treats MK's linguistic choice *Datscha*, which is associated with the GDR, as evidence for his argument that GDR and FRG are, indeed, different social spaces.

The negotiation of inclusion and exclusion of individual identities in social spaces in this segment shows that linguistic choices are taken as indicators for speakers' alignments with social spaces. In certain speech situation, as in the conversation between MK and TH, speakers can treat linguistic differences as differences between social groups. I hope to have shown, however, that these differences are functional and are a matter of how participants position themselves in dividing up social spaces. In this speech situation also, MK's selection of *man* and *da*, that can index non-positioning, may have provoked TH to remark on MK's word choice as an indicator of his group belonging.

¹⁵⁵ MK's enunciation of several words referring to the same object could be an indication for a *word search* (see section 6.2.1). However, none of the participants treats it as a word search.

4.3.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have attempted to show how people using social deictics negotiate relationships between individual and collective identities. I have employed a framework to describe these deictics that goes beyond deictics as speaker-centered and referential entities. The grammatical system of a language is as much a factor in how deictics work in the interaction as are social contexts of the past, present, and future. Through an analysis of deictics in interaction, I have tried to reveal pragmatic consequences of deictics that can only be captured if deictics are analyzed as embedded in conversations.

The grammatical system of a language, for example, no grammaticalization of inclusive and exclusive “we” in German, has consequences for the interaction. One consequence is that the non-specified “we” promotes ambiguity in denoting social spaces; heteroglossic voices emerge if speakers can potentially be associated with different groups. Speakers of German may choose to employ additional verbal resources, gesture, and eye gaze to resolve this ambiguity, especially if identity assignments of speakers, in turn, contextualize pronouns.

After 1989, speakers of German find their deictics contextualized by their individual affiliation with past social spaces. With the competing social spaces after 1989, the pronouns become heteroglossic. Some social deictics make speakers, interlocutors, and audiences potentially part of the same social space and some do not. Since speakers always select among these deictics, interlocutors

may recognize their selections as ways to position speakers inside or outside of social spaces. In times of competing social spaces, even before November 1989, social deictics are sites of contesting belonging to groups. Pronouns are not different from deictic-locative adverbs in that they both denote social spaces.

Chapter Five: Verbs of motion

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The verbs of motion “come” and “go” describe arrivals and departures. Specific German verbs of motion have been resources to describe movements of people between the GDR and the FRG. Before the opening of the Wall, these movements were departures of people from the GDR who arrived in the FRG and departures of people from the FRG who arrived in the GDR. For this chapter, I have analyzed conversations about these arrivals and departures, in which speakers use such verbs of motion. The analysis reveals that these motion verbs play an important role in the formulation of German identities even after 1989.

5.2 MOTION VERBS

5.2.1 German verbs of motion and social spaces

As can all verbs of motion, the German verbs of motion I am concerned with in this chapter can be conceptualized using the framework of cognitive grammar (Langacker 1987). I find this framework helpful in describing the specific grammatical and semantic properties of these verbs.

According to Langacker (1987), verbs of physical motion such as “come” and “go” belong to a verbal category he calls “relational predications.”¹⁵⁶ He

¹⁵⁶ Langacker distinguishes relational from nominal predications. The latter include nouns and pronouns while the former include adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, and verbs.

refers to them as “relational” because all these verbs denote a *trajector*.¹⁵⁷ the moving object, and one or more *landmarks*, the “points of reference for locating the trajector” (217). A trajector and landmarks relate to each other to create the *profile*¹⁵⁸ of motion verbs. For example, the verb “go” assumes somebody or something that goes (the trajector) as well as a point of departure and a point of arrival (landmarks). Prepositions in conjunction with verbs can make the verbs’ profile more specific but they are also relational predications by themselves. As an example of a preposition that is relevant also for the German verbs of motion. Langacker (1987) describes the profile of “across” as follows:

Across locates its trajector on the opposite side of one landmark¹⁵⁹ relative to a point of reference (a second landmark) normally equated with the position of the speaker unless otherwise specified. (218)

The German motion verbs I discuss in this chapter combine the verbs “come” and “go” with the preposition “across.” In German, two of these verbs employed to describe immigrations of people from the GDR to the FRG and from the FRG to the GDR are *rüberkommen* (to come across the border and stay) and *rübergehen* (to go across the border and stay). These verbs described permanent arrivals as compared to visits.¹⁶⁰ The verbs possessed a specific profile when the GDR and the FRG were in place. The trajector of the verbs were people from the GDR and from the FRG. Important landmarks were the two countries GDR and

¹⁵⁷ Langacker (1987) defines *trajector* as the “figure within a relational profile” (see footnote 158 for profile).

¹⁵⁸ A profile describes a class of similar words within the framework of cognitive grammar.

¹⁵⁹ For example, a wall

¹⁶⁰ In contrast to *rübergehen*, the German motion verb *rüberfahren* (to go across) is used for visits instead of immigration.

FRG as well as the border between the GDR and the FRG (including the Berlin Wall).

Shopen's (1985) *figure-ground* model below is helpful in order to distinguish between the border as landmark and the countries GDR and FRG as landmarks. In this figure-ground-model, the motion event¹⁶¹ is described as follows:

The basic motion event consists of one object (the 'Figure') moving or located with respect to another object (the reference-object or 'Ground').¹⁶² (60)

With the German motion verbs, I use "trajector" and "figure" interchangeably for the moving subjects. In order to make a distinction between the border and the countries GDR and FRG, I use "landmark" in reference to the border (including the Berlin Wall) and "grounds" in reference to the countries GDR and FRG.

In narrations about people immigrating before November 1989, the German verbs of motion designated the specific paths and the specific directions along which and in which trajectors moved. The paths were from GDR and FRG and from FRG to GDR; they were always from East to West and West to East. The North-South direction was not part of the profile of these verbs, even though the trajector may have moved from the northern part of the GDR to the southern part of the FRG, or the other way around. The reason for these East-West and

¹⁶¹ Shopen (1985) defines motion event as "a situation containing a movement or the maintenance of a stationary location alike" (60).

¹⁶² Shopen (1985: 60) adds: "The terms 'Figure' and 'Ground' are taken from Gestalt psychology but we give them a distinct semantic interpretation here: the Figure is a moving or *conceptually* movable object whose path or site is at issue; the Ground is the reference-frame, or a reference-point stationary within a reference-frame, with respect to which the Figure's path or site is characterized" (emphasis his).

West-East paths is that these verbs developed their specific profile based on the relationship between the FRG and the GDR.

For these German verbs of motion, trajectors and landmarks were in specific relationships with each other so that the knowledge about the one provided the knowledge about the other. Knowledge about the trajectors' GDR or FRG citizenship provided information about the grounds. When the verbs were employed to designate the move of a person from the GDR, the GDR was the point of departure and the FRG was the point of arrival. For a person from the FRG, the FRG was the point of departure and the GDR was the point of arrival. Thus, identification of trajectors' citizenships defined the direction of the moves. Knowledge about the grounds as points of arrival and departure also provided information about the trajector. If the point of departure was the GDR and the point of arrival was the FRG, the person was from the GDR. If the point of departure was the FRG and the point of arrival was the GDR, the person was from the FRG. Thus, knowledge about the grounds, specifically the countries, defined trajectors as person from the GDR or FRG.

5.2.2 Motion verbs, voice, and empathy

Either motion verb *rüberkommen* and *rübergehen* may denote immigration processes involving the same trajectors. For example, both may be employed for the immigration of a person from the GDR to the FRG. The difference between these verbs lies in the way one of them evokes the GDR voice¹⁶³ while the other

¹⁶³ See section 1.3.3.2 for a definition of *voice*.

evokes the FRG voice. The verbs evoke these voices because the verbs position the speaker either in the GDR or in the FRG.

This positioning¹⁶⁴ regularly occurs with the verbs “come” and “go.” The verbs “come” and “go” position the speaker in relation to the trajector and in relation to the grounds. Speakers see the trajector coming towards them, as with “come,” or moving away from them, as with “go” (Shopen 1985: 135; Hanks 1990: 217 ff.). Bühler (1965) also remarks on the movement toward or away from the speaker; he points out that deictic motion verbs such as “come” and “go” figuratively¹⁶⁵ position the speaker in relation to the trajector (135 ff.). For example, “go” implies that the speaker is at the starting point of the trajector’s path (i.e. looking at the trajector from the back when seeing her/him go): “come” positions the speaker at the trajector’s final destination (i.e. looking the trajector “in the face” when seeing him/her come). Consequently, the German verbs of motion position the speaker either on the ground GDR or FRG as the trajector’s starting point or its final destination. In other words, speakers necessarily evoke a GDR voice or a FRG voice when they employ these verbs.

This voice may index empathy and emotional closeness with the social space evoked by the voice in some, though not necessarily in all, speech situations. This argument is less rigid than Kuno’s (1987), who claims that speakers’ selections are always due to empathy and always index empathy. I subscribe to a framework that considers the relationship between these selections and empathy as functional, i.e. as related in some way to the speech situation.

¹⁶⁴ See section 1.3.3.2 for a definition of *positioning*.

¹⁶⁵ By *figurative* positioning I mean to indicate that it is a positioning through language rather than a real, physical positioning.

Consequently, although the German motion verbs *rüberkommen* and *rübergehen* always evoke a GDR or an FRG voice, these voices may have no consequences in the interaction and may rather go unnoticed as coincidental selections. However, the selections may be taken as indexing empathy with social spaces in certain speech situations, especially those where a linguistic positioning coincides with other signs of the person's empathy or emotional closeness with the social space indexed by the voice.

5.2.3 Connotations of German motion verbs

Both verbs *rüberkommen* and *rübergehen* could designate either the arrival of a person from the GDR in the FRG or the arrival of a person from the FRG in the GDR. The arrivals in either direction, however, were different: people familiar with the social contexts and the relationships between the states FRG and GDR had certain assumptions about these arrivals that became part of the meaning of these verbs.

One of these assumptions was that immigration occurred more often from the GDR to the FRG, in which case the trajector was a person from the GDR.¹⁶⁶ Thus, the use of the verbs *rüberkommen* and *rübergehen* was more frequent with people who moved from the GDR to the FRG; however, the verbs were not exclusively used for people from the GDR.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ For a displayed understanding that immigration from FRG to GDR was not common, see also data segment 3.10.c.

¹⁶⁷ Since people who moved from the FRG to the GDR were rare, they were sometimes the subjects of jokes. For example, a person who moved from the FRG to the GDR may have been asked if the compass was broken and the needle showed the wrong direction, so that the person ended up in the GDR by mistake.

Another assumption was that the moves from the GDR to the FRG and from the FRG to the GDR showed political preferences. Since the FRG was capitalist and the GDR socialist (see section 1.3.1), people in the GDR and the FRG often¹⁶⁸ saw the decision about immigration to one or the other country as indexing political preferences. For example, people who moved from the FRG to the GDR were often considered politically left; people who moved from the GDR to the FRG were considered critical of the socialist state. In general, *drüben* ('there', more specifically: 'the other side of the border') was assumed to be more desirable for the person emigrating to *drüben*.

The assumption about political preferences seems to be related to the general notion that immigration processes are usually seen as a matter of choice.¹⁶⁹ This assumption is that the person leaving a place considers the point of arrival more desirable than the point of departure. Kuno (1987) claims that this assumption is also encoded in language: while "here" and "there" signal speakers' physical closeness or distance, "here" also denotes the "familiar" while "there" denotes the "other" or "unfamiliar." In modifying Kuno's assumption, I argue that "here" and "there" may index the speaker's empathy with the places denoted through these adverbs in certain functional contexts. However, speakers can also indicate that "there" is closer to them.

These assumptions then became part of the meaning of these verbs during the conversation. These meanings are not part of any dictionary entry one can

¹⁶⁸ Political preferences may have been the default if there was no other reason for immigration, for example, family circumstances.

¹⁶⁹ Except in cases of political asylum.

find for *rübergehen* or *rüberkommen* but are pragmatic components that emerge in certain narrative contexts.

5.3 DATA ANALYSIS

In this part of the chapter, I discuss several data segments from some of the German talk shows described in Chapter Two. These segments are presented in chronological order from 1989 and 1993 in order to better identify possible directions of change in the use of these motion verbs. The common element in all data segments is that speakers use motion verbs. While Langacker (1987) found that these “verbs of physical motion” always designate a (physical) process (214). I argue that these verbs can also express a conceptual motion, a moving between figurative places as people’s images about social spaces rather than between geographic places as grounds.

In the analysis, two components are especially important: physical relocations of speakers from “familiar” to “unfamiliar” grounds and the tense of the narration. Physical relocation, i.e. arrivals of speakers at the setting, becomes an important aspect of the analysis because these physical arrivals contextualize talk. While the arrivals designated by the motion verbs took place before November 1989, talk about them after 1989 evokes eastern and western social spaces. This is the case because individual speakers project social spaces of the past through their identities onto the present utterance.

Since *rüberkommen* and *rübergehen* may evoke either the GDR voice or the FRG voice depending on trajectors and grounds, an overlap between these

voices with the same words can be expected, i.e. heteroglossia.¹⁷⁰ For example, for people who were in the place that a person (the trajector) left, this place was *hier* ('here', more specifically: 'on this side of the border') and the other place was *drüben*, while for the person who left that place, *drüben* became *hier* when that person spoke with the voice of the new place. For the usage of motion verbs in my data, it can be expected that these constellations of *hier* and *drüben*, specifically the "mirror image" (Borneman 1992) of GDR and FRG, caused some difficulties for the speakers from the GDR and the FRG when they left their "familiar" ground and physically moved to the "other" ground. Difficulties can also be expected because these grounds were themselves in flux after November 1989.

5.3.1 Motion verbs indexing empathy

With the data segments in this section, I provide examples that verbs of motion can index the speaker's empathy with the GDR or the FRG in certain speech situations. I make this argument based on the following theoretical positions: first, the observation that verbs of motion such as *kommen* (to come) and *gehen* (to go) position speakers at the points of arrival or departure respectively (Bühler 1965; Shopen 1985; Hanks 1990); second, the connotations of these verbs about arrivals and departures in the communities GDR and FRG, and third, the assumptions about immigration to the GDR and the FRG as political moves.

¹⁷⁰ See section 1.3.3.2 for a definition of *heterglossia*.

All the data segments in this section are from the talk show *Nachtcafe*, which aired on September 23, 1989. At that time, travel between the GDR and the FRG was not yet freely possible since the borders between GDR and FRG had yet to open on November 9, 1989. However, the opening of the border between Austria and Hungary (see section 1.3.1), had prompted conversations on talk shows about arrivals of people from the GDR in the FRG and, as in the data segment 5.1, arrivals of people from the FRG in the GDR.

In data segment 5.1, the speaker describes immigrations from the GDR to the FRG and from the FRG to the GDR as political moves. The speaker, Gisela Kraft (GK), is an author who left the FRG and moved to the GDR (East Berlin) in 1984. She is a guest on the show that takes place in the FRG.

Data segment 5.1:

Nachtcafe (DN 111), September 23, 1989

place: castle *Favorit* near Ludwigsburg (FRG)

GK... Gisela Kraft (moved from the FRG to the GDR in 1984, author)

- 1 GK: wer in Westdeutschland vielleicht Kapitalist sein
 the person who maybe wants to be a capitalist in West
- 2 will oder ein **linker Westdeutscher** sein will .hh der
 Germany or a **leftist West German** .hh that person
- 3 wurde erstmal <geographisch determiniert> ich meine
 was first <placed geographically> I mean
- 4 man könnte das vielleicht allmählich so regeln daß
 one could maybe gradually arrange that
- 5 freie Entschlüsse gefaßt werden (.) eh **wer dorthin**
 free decisions are possible (.) uhm **the person who**
- 6 **will in die DDR** der soll das dürfen (.) ich wollte
 wants to go there to the GDR should be able to do that
- 7 das und ich habe das schließlich gedurft und **wer weg**

(.) I wanted that and I finally was allowed to do that
 8 **will** soll vielleicht weggehn
 and **the person who wants to leave** should maybe leave

In lines 5-8, the speaker describes moves of people between the GDR and the FRG. The identities of the people who move (the trajectors) are clear from the direction of these moves, even though the speaker does not use nominals to describe the groups of people. The first move, *wer dort hin will in die DDR*, describes the immigration of people from the FRG to the GDR. In the formulation itself, the speaker only names the point of arrival, *in die DDR*. Through the direction (from the FRG to the GDR), the identity of the trajectors can be identified as FRG citizens.¹⁷¹ In line 7-8, *wer weg will*, formulates people from the GDR moving to the FRG. Here also, no nominals are used and the point of departure is implied as the GDR through the formulation before (in lines 5-6).

In both formulations, GK employs a short form of motion verbs that is a colloquial way of describing the moves. In the colloquial formulation *wer dorthin will* (ll. 5-6), the verb *gehen* (go) is dropped but implied; it has the standard alternative *wer dorthin gehen will*.¹⁷² Similarly, the colloquial formulation *wer weg will* (ll. 7-8) has the standard alternative *wer weggehen will*. Both formulations have the same verb *rübergehen* as alternatives, the first (ll. 5-6) with an FRG voice, the second (ll. 7-8) with a GDR voice. Thus, if the speaker had

¹⁷¹ In this person formulation, the speaker includes herself since she moved from the FRG to the GDR. In her turn, GK rejects the stereotype that such moves index political affiliation. Thus, she does not want to be perceived as politically left (*linker Westdeutscher*).

¹⁷² In English, the alternative with the verb dropped does not exist.

employed the verb *rübergehen*, it would have been the same German verb. however, each time with a different voice.

In data segment 5.2 below, which follows 5.1 in time on the same talk show, GK positions herself through her selection of the motion verb *kommen* figuratively in the social space GDR. This formulation as an alternative to *gehen* may index her empathy with the GDR. Data segment 5.2 displays GK's answer to TS's question about her experience in the GDR (in East Berlin).

Data segment 5.2:

Nachtkafe (DN 111), September 23, 1989

place: castle *Favorit* near Ludwigsburg (FRG)

GK... Gisela Kraft (moved from the FRG to the GDR in 1984, author)

- 1 GK: wir haben nicht davon geredet dass wir eingesperrt
 and we have not talked about the fact that we were
- 2 waren- (.) und als ich **in die DDR gekommen** bin hab
 locked up(.) and when I **came into the GDR** I felt
- 3 ich diesen- diesen (.) springenden Reifen da vom
 these- these (.) cracked shackles there belonging to
- 4 Eisernen Heinrich empfunden ja, daß ich da
 Iron John yes, that i was suddenly able to
- 5 plötzlich aus der Stadt >herauslaufen kann<
 >leave< the city

Since GK talks about her arrival in the GDR, it may seem natural that she chooses *kommen* as the appropriate verb of motion. However, since she speaks on a talk show in the FRG, she could have selected *gehen*, which is the habitual voice for her audiences and, thus, for somebody who has lived in the FRG.¹⁷³ Since *kommen* positions her at the point of arrival, it may index empathy with the GDR for this particular speaker because the speaker's physical move to the GDR

¹⁷³ Cf. discussion about data segments 5.7 and 5.9

carries assumptions about choosing the GDR and rejecting the FRG as a place to live. In addition, this segment comes at a point in the talk show when other speakers have used *drüben* in reference to the GDR, thus indexing the FRG voice. The following data segments 5.3 and 5.4 both proceed segment 5.2 in time. In data segment 5.3, the talk show host addresses another guest on the panel. Herr von Berg, who had moved from the GDR to the FRG after working in the *SED*'s think-tank.

Data segment 5.3:

Nachtcafé (DN 111), September 23, 1989

place: castle *Favorit* near Ludwigsburg (FRG)

TH... talk show host (Wieland Backes)

HB... Herman von Berg (moved from the GDR to the FRG, used to work for *SED*¹⁷⁴ think tank)

- 1 TH: Herr von Berg- wie ist es eigentlich und=eh
 Mister von Berg- how is it and=uhm
- 2 (auch sie) wenn man jetzt aus diesem- (.) Staat
 (also you) if one now leaves this- (.) country
- 3 **drüben** weggeht- (.) kommt man eigentlich auf die
 over there- (.) does one get to the
 [on the other side of the border]
- 4 Sonnenseite der Welt
 sunny side of the world

Here, the talk show host refers to the GDR as *drüben*, as the other state in contrast to *hier*, the FRG. In the following segment, 5.4, the speaker also uses *drüben* in reference to the GDR.

Data segment 5.4:

Nachtcafé (DN 111), September 23, 1989

¹⁷⁴ *SED* (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands*) was the governing communist party in the GDR.

place: castle *Favorit* near Ludwigsburg (FRG)

MA... Martin Ahrends (moved from the GDR to the FRG in 1984, journalist)

- 1 MA: dass man also sich so offenbarte wie mans **drüben**
 that one showed oneself as one did **over there**
- tat- (.) weil man ja viel mehr zu verlieren hat
 (.) because one had to lose so much more

In data segment 5.4, MA evokes the FRG voice; he positions himself among the audience who perceive the FRG as “here” and the GDR as “over there” (*drüben*). Speakers in both segments, 5.3 and 5.4, employ the FRG voices: “here” is the FRG and “over there” (*drüben*) is the GDR. In contrast, GK in 5.2 employs the GDR voice; *kommen* positions her in the GDR as point of arrival, thus looking from the GDR towards the FRG.

In a later conversation, TS and GK negotiate their identities through motion verbs and through person and place classifications. This data segment 5.5 starts with a question from the talk show host. He asks GK if she plans to stay in the GDR or to return to the FRG.

Data segment 5.5:

Nachtcafe (DN 111), September 23, 1989

place: castle *Favorit* bei Ludwigsburg (FRG)

GK... Gisela Kraft (moved from the FRG to the GDR in 1984, author)

TS... talk show host (Wieland Backes)

- 1 TS: jetzt sind Sie (.) eh ja **jemand** der schon fünf
 now you are (.) uhm **somebody** who has been living
- 2 Jahre **in diesem Land** wohnt jetzt, .hh eh Sie ham
 in this country for five years , .hh uhm you said
- 3 selber gesagt=eh daß=eh (.) das Schiff am Wanken
 yourself=uhm that=uhm (.) the ship is about to sink
- 4 ist wenns denn nun (.) zum Untergehen käme würden
 if it now (.) was sinking would

5 Sie denn trotzdem ausharren oder nicht in die
you still stay or wouldn't you rather return to

6 **geschmähte Bundesrepublik zurück(kehrn**
the despised Federal Republic

7 GK: [nein ich würde nie
[no I would never

8 **zurückkommen.** (.) aber wenn ich **weg** müsste aus
return. (.) but if I had to **leave** for whatever

9 irgendeinem Grund (.) dann würde ich eben eine
reason (.) then I would experience a terrible

10 unglaubliche Existenz- würde ich meine
existential- I would have my

11 Existenzkrise haben denn dann würde ich nicht
existential crisis because then I would not know

12 wissen wo ich hin soll
where to go

13 TS: mhm
hm

14 GK: und ich will **da** also bleiben
and I want to stay **at that place**¹⁷⁵

In lines 1-2, TS formulates GK's identity in non-specific terms rather than specific classifications such as *Übersiedler*:¹⁷⁶ *jemand der schon fünf Jahre in diesem Land wohnt*, whereby *dieses Land* refers to the GDR as anaphoric deixis. With *geschmähte Bundesrepublik* in line 6, the talk show host adopts GK's voice: these words do not express what TS believes about the FRG. Rather, he characterizes GK's attitude towards the FRG. Since she left the FRG, she can be seen as "despising" the FRG. Here, he discloses that he believes her to have left

¹⁷⁵ There is no single equivalent for the German *da* because it can mean either "here" or "there."

¹⁷⁶ *Übersiedler* cannot be used in reference to GK since this term is only employed in reference to people who moved the opposite direction, from the GDR to the FRG.

the FRG with resentment. The motion verb *zurückkehren* also imitates GK's voice because the speaker's viewpoint is looking from the GDR to the FRG. In her answer using *zurückkommen* (l.8), GK, however, positions herself at the point of arrival, the FRG. At this moment, she indexes co-membership with TS since she, like TS, may consider herself from the FRG. Since he is co-present while she talks, he is automatically also in the same figurative social space as her (i.e. "come back to where you are").

The use of *da* (l. 14) is noteworthy in regard to the non-committal nature of this adverb; it can mean both "here" and "there." GK employs it in reference to the GDR. It is interesting that she selects *da* among other alternatives at a point where GK's identity is described as moving from the GDR to the FRG and at a point where TS revives her former FRG identity while talking to her.

With the analysis above, I do not claim that every time speakers employ *kommen* and *gehen*, they express empathy with the points of arrival and departure. Rather, the verbs may index empathy, as in the data segments above, because they co-occur with physical moves of people that index preferences to social spaces.

5.3.2 Adjusting voices and connotations

While the previous segments were from a time before the opening of the border between the GDR and the FRG, I proceed with a data segment from a talk show aired on November 10, 1989, one day after the opening of the border. I use this segment as an example to show how the verb of motion *riibergehen* positions

speakers and indexes voices, and how a speaker positions himself closer to “here” than to “there.”

Data segment 5.6 is from the N3 talk show *III nach 9*, which aired November 10, 1989, one day after the opening of the border between the GDR and the FRG. The talk show takes place in Bremen (West Germany). The talk show host (TS1), speaks with two panel guests, Wolfgang Lippert (L), a singer from East Germany, and his wife Kirsten Lippert (K), who is also East German. She was invited to the show only after travel to West Germany was possible due to the opening of the borders to West Germany. Her husband, Wolfgang Lippert, had already been in West Germany for the production of the show:¹⁷⁷ he was not in the GDR on November 9, the day when the Wall fell. The topic of the following segment is the night of November 9, 1989. In anticipation of a later example (segment 5.9), I want to draw attention to the fact that the talk show takes place in West Germany, the country where TS1 is at home.

Data segment 5.6:

N3 Talk show *III nach 9*, November 10, 1989

place: Bremen (West Germany)

L... Wolfgang Lippert (singer, from East Germany)

TS1... talk show host (Giovanni di Lorenzo, from West Germany)

K... Kirsten Lippert (Lippert's wife, from East Germany)

1 L: ja ich habe heute-ich war ja eigentlich zufällig
 yes i did today - i just happened to be

2 **hier** und eh (0.1) wie gesagt deswegen tuts mir
 here and uh (0.1) as i said that's why i

¹⁷⁷ Wolfgang Lippert had a special visa that allowed him to travel between the GDR and the FRG even before the opening of the borders on November 9, 1989. In fact, he had his own television show on an FRG TV station.

- 3 auch leid- ich wäre lieber **zuhause** mitten im
 really regret- i would rather be **at home** in
- 4 Gewühl wo Frauen in Unter-eh in
 the middle of it all where women in underw-uh in
- 5 eh [in (0.1) Nachthemden an der Grenze stehen
 uh [in (0.1) nightgowns stand at the border
 [
- 6 K: [Nachthemden
 [nightgowns
- 7 TS1: und wärest **rübergegangen**
 and you would have gone across [the border]
- 8 L: **un eh** ich wär **rübergegangen** auch un **hin und her**
 an uh i would have **gone across the border** and **back and**
- 9 und hätte mich irgendwo hingesetzt und zugeguckt
 forth and would have sat somewhere and watched

In lines 1 through 3, Lippert sets up a dichotomy of places: *hier* (here) and *zuhause* (home). The place description *zuhause* is not simply a reference to a place but also describes the relationship between L and the place: L identifies himself as a person from East Germany. Although *hier*, West Germany as the place of speaking, is geographically closer, L positions himself emotionally closer to “there,” East Germany as his *zuhause* (l.3). The voice or “empathy structure” (Kuno 1987) positions L in East Germany.

TS1 also employs the GDR voice in line 7: *und wärest rübergegangen*, describing in the subjunctive L’s hypothetical crossing of the border from East Germany into West Germany. The verb *rübergegangen* positions TS1 in the social space of East Germany because *gehen*¹⁷⁸ (to go) highlights the departure from East Germany. With the verb *rübergegangen*, TS1 does not adhere to the

¹⁷⁸ *Gehen* is the infinitive, *gegangen* is its participle.

voice that is habitual for his West German audiences in Bremen for whom *rüberkommen* (to come across) would highlight the arrival in West Germany, which would also position him, as West German, in West Germany. Rather, he uses the East German voice that is habitual for his guest, L.

Considering that TS1 is the talk show host and L is the guest, TS1 adopts the voice that is typical for the social space where his guest is from, which can be seen as a “positive face strategy” (Brown and Levinson 1987). Scollon and Scollon (1995) define this strategy as “involvement”: “One shows involvement by taking the point of view of other participants” (36). TS1 accommodates his guest by selecting vocabulary that positions himself in the same space with his guest, thus making the guest feel more at home and reducing the distance between them.¹⁷⁹ This positioning also correlates with the fact that TS1 addresses L with *du* (you, informal) as opposed to *Sie* (you, formal).

A last point I want to make about data segment 5.6 is that of possibly changing connotations of *rübergehen* after the opening of the border on November 9, 1989. The speakers talk about the day of the opening of the border, which is the day before the talk show. At the time of the show, the border was open and it was suddenly possible for people to go *hin und her* (l.7) between East Germany and West Germany. *Rübergehen* (go over there) from East to West Germany had lost its connotations of a permanent arrival in West Germany but

¹⁷⁹ Since L uses *zu Hause* in reference to the point of departure and TS1 positions himself in the same social space, this distance is even more decreased. It is almost as if TS1 claimed they both had the same *zu Hause*, which interestingly takes down the border between the two social spaces East Germany and West Germany and makes it one social space. It is possible that the perturbation *un eh* (an uh) at the beginning of L’s next turn, line 8, indicates L’s difficulties in readjusting and separating the perspectives.

could now mean a coming and going (*hin und her*) between the two countries. What this suggests is that words, such as *rübergehen*, could lose certain connotations they had possessed during the years of GDR and FRG with social changes.

5.3.4 Moving between social spaces

The following segments are all from the year 1993. At that time, more than two years after German unification in October 1990, the GDR no longer existed and the FRG had changed in the forms that existed before unification. However, in talk about the past, and especially when employing the German verbs of motion, speakers recall these past social spaces. As I will show in this section, these verbs index arrivals between figurative social spaces rather than geographic places. The deictic-locative adverbs “here” and “there” as points of departure and arrival are not used in reference to the locations at the time of speaking.

Data segment 5.7 is from a talk show that takes place in eastern Germany and that aired on March 5, 1993. The talk show host TS3, who had formerly lived in the FRG, addresses a guest who had left the GDR before 1989 and escaped to the FRG. In talk about this escape, TS3 uses place formulations as if she were in the FRG. Since the talk show takes place in eastern Germany, her usage of place formulations is incorrect for the given context; however, it does signify that the speaker had formerly lived in the FRG. For the studio and TV audiences, who are mostly eastern Germans, her usage of place formulations is unfamiliar.

Therefore, TS3 positions herself, intentionally or not, in opposition to the audiences, and with a FRG voice.

Data segment 5.7:

MDR talk show, March 5, 1993
place: Dresden (eastern Germany)

Hick... Peter Hick (escaped from the GDR to the FRG before 1989)

TS3... talk show host (Christel Cohn-Vossen, lived formerly in the FRG)

- 1 TS3: aber sie **kommen** ja **aus** der **Ex-DDR**
 but you **come from** the **former GDR**
- 2 Hick: richtig
 that's right
- 3 TS3 : sie sind auf ziemlich schwierigem Wege **hierher**
 you **came here** on a difficult journey
- 4 **gekommen** >wie war das,<
 >what happened,<
- 5 Hick: ich bin bei irgendeiner Produktion mal **abgehauen** weil
 I **escaped** during some production or other because
- 6 ich einfach mal die Nase voll hatte
 I was fed up

In line 1, TS3 employs the linguistic structure commonly used to formulate origin, “you come from x”¹⁸⁰, which can be understood as formulating Hick’s original identity as *aus der Ex-DDR* (from the former GDR). At the same time, her “you come from x” formulates a movement whereby *Ex-DDR* is the place of departure. This movement is obviously associated in line 3 when the place of arrival is formulated as *hierher* and the present perfect *sind gekommen* is used in reference to a past event. *Hierher gekommen* designates the same process

¹⁸⁰ See also section 3.4.7.

as *rübergekommen* would: Hick's departure from the GDR and his arrival in the FRG. However, while *rüber* would semantically clearly imply the landmark border and the grounds GDR and FRG in its profile, *hierher* is more ambiguous in its reference. Since the show takes place in eastern Germany, the logical assumption, based on geographies, would be that this point of arrival is eastern Germany. However, from a point earlier in the conversation we know that, before 1989, Hick had escaped from the GDR and moved to the FRG. If this knowledge is applied as a "contextualization cue" (Gumperz 1982a), *hierher* would refer to the FRG and be a slip of the tongue.

Considering that TS3 had lived most of her life in the FRG, it seems likely that *hierher* is a slip of the tongue by a talk show host from western Germany hired by MDR in eastern Germany. *Kommen* positions TS3 at the point of arrival. Her habitual ways of conceptualizing the FRG as "here" and the GDR as "there" may be reflected in her use of *sind... hierher gekommen* (have ... come here). Thus, while physically moving herself from western to eastern Germany, namely speaking on an MDR talk show in Dresden, she uses the deictic she is familiar with from having lived in the FRG. This interpretation assumes a mental time frame in which the event is seen as one in the past without relation to the present. An alternative interpretation, however, is based on a frame in which the speaker conceptualizes unification as the extension of western Germany to include eastern Germany. In that case, the place to which Hick originally arrived at the moment of speaking is the present location of the speaker. The social space of Germany at the time of speaking overrides the status of eastern Germany at the time when the event occurred.

It is curious that the ongoing conversation is not hindered because of the inherent ambiguity of the adverbs' referents. Hick does not ask for any clarification. This suggests that the contextualization cues from the social context are sufficient to clarify the references. One such cue is, for example, the prototypical arrival of people from the GDR in the FRG. Also, Hick as well as TS3 may find himself conceptualizing social spaces independent of the place of speaking; the geographical co-ordinates of "here" (eastern Germany) and "there" (western Germany) may be irrelevant for both participants in their interaction. Rather, the locative-deictic adverbs "here" and "there" are landmarks for verbs of motion describing relations between groups in the social space, whereby the relations at the time of speaking may override the ones at the time of the event.

This argument can be supported with an analysis of the conversation that occurs two minutes later in the same show. The talk show host TS3 still refers to the GDR as "there," and Hick in his answer refers to an ambiguous space of the present as "here."

Data segment 5.8:

Die Riverboat Talkshow, MDR, March 5, 1993

place: Dresden (eastern Germany)

Hick... Peter Hick (left the GDR before 1989 to live in the FRG)

TS3... talk show host (Christel Cohn-Vossen, lived formerly in the FRG)

- 1 TS3: aber Sie hatten ja auch **dort** schon einen Beruf, wie
 but you also had a profession **there**, how
- 2 sind Sie zum Stuntman geworden ich meine das **war** ja
 did you become stuntman I mean that **was**
- 3 **in der DDR** nun nicht alltäglich
 not common **in the GDR**

4 Hick: nun is **hier** vielleicht auch nich
well it is not common **here** either

Dort in TS3's turn (line 1) obviously refers to the GDR, based on previous talk and contextualization cues within the same turn, namely the *in der DDR* in line 3, which has the same referent as *dort*. *Dort* denotes the GDR of the past because the sentence is in past tense (*war*). It refers temporally back to the place (or social space) of the GDR. Hick's *hier* refers, by use of the present tense, to a present social space. This space could be the unified Germany. However, the *dort-hier* dichotomy denoting eastern and western German spaces gives rise to an understanding of *hier* as the space of western Germany, in that case revealing once more the disjunction between place of speaking and changing social spaces. As with the previous segment, *hier* could be the FRG, considering that Hick made a slip of the tongue imagining himself located in western Germany. On the other hand, if one considers that the present social space overrides the past one, *hier* could be referring to the unified Germany where *hier* is used synonymously for western Germany of the past as well as unified Germany.

5.2.4 The past in the present: indexing different communities

The last two segments are also from an MDR talk show aired in 1993. These segments exemplify that GDR and FRG are available as social spaces when eastern and western Germans talk about the past. These spaces are invoked as language travels with speakers' bodies. In the first segment, 5.9, the speaker

presents himself as being on “foreign territory” (as outsider) recognizing his audiences as a different community.

Data segment 5.9 is from an MDR show in Dresden in eastern Germany, which was aired on April 23, 1993. The studio audience is almost exclusively from the local area, eastern Germany, and the show is produced to be shown on MDR, which has its TV audience in eastern Germany.¹⁸¹ The talk show host, TS2, is from the former FRG. He is confronted with a similar situation to that of TS1 (data segment 5.6), which is to address a person from the former GDR and talk about how that person left the GDR to go to the FRG. TS2 addresses the actress Marijam Agischewa, who had left the GDR in the summer of 1989. At that time, the talk show host was still living in the FRG. In the data segment, he positions himself as an outsider to eastern Germans. This “outsiderness” is made in reference to the time talked about, the time before 1989. However, it carries over into the time of speaking and could be understood as discursively constructing eastern and western Germany as different social spaces in present Germany.

Data segment 5.9:

MDR talk show, April 23, 1993

place: Dresden (eastern Germany)

TS2 ... Talk show host (Jan Hofer, from the former FRG)

MA... Marijam Agischewa (escaped from the GDR to the FRG in summer 1989)

1 TS2: Sie waren eines der ganz grossen Talente der DDR und
 you were one of the big talents in the GDR and

2 1989 haben Sie sich dann trotzdem entschlossen (0.2)
 in 1989 you nevertheless decided to (0.2)

¹⁸¹ More specifically, MDR broadcasts in Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, and Thuringia.

- 3 **rüberraumachen** (0.1) sind Sie **in den Westen gegangen**,
 go across (0.1) you **moved to the FRG**
- 4 hat Ihnen das gut getan
 was that good for you
- 5 MA: ja das hat mir glaube ich sehr gut getan
 yes I believe that was good for me

For the eastern German TV audiences, *rüberraumachen* and *in den Westen gegangen* (both l. 3) evoke a familiar voice because the GDR point of view is taken. The point of departure is “home,” the GDR, and the point of arrival is the other state, the FRG. The unfamiliar voice for the audiences, that which would display FRG identification, would have been if the speaker positioned himself in the FRG using *rüberkommen* (to come across) and *in den Westen kommen* (to come or move to the FRG). Since the speaker is in eastern Germany, the former voice might be considered more natural for the geographic setting. However, the earlier segment 5.6 exemplifies how speakers can employ voices independent of geographic locations.

Similar to segment 5.6, it can be argued for segment 5.9 that TS2 employs the voice habitual for his guest, which diminishes social distance between himself and his guest. Since his guest and most of his audiences are eastern Germans, in contrast to segment 5.6, TS2’s positive face strategy is effective not only for his guest but also for his audiences.

By selecting *rüberraumachen*¹⁸² and *rübergegangen*, TS2 positions himself in the social space of the GDR at a time when he still lived in the FRG. This

¹⁸² It was brought to my attention by western German colleagues that *rüberraumachen* was used in the FRG in reference to the move from the GDR to the FRG for a person from the GDR, thus evoking the voice of a person from the GDR.

word selection could be understood as claiming experience in the GDR that he does not have.

However, TS2 finds a way to indicate that he does not count himself as part of the GDR community and therefore does not claim an experience which he does not have: he brackets his talk, i.e. he pauses before the word *rüberzumachen* and produces a smile while he says *rüberzumachen* (.) *sind in den westen gegangen*. Thus, although he positions himself through his words in the social space of the former GDR, he displays through the bracketing that he was an outsider to the GDR at that time in the past. This “outsiderness” is carried over into the present, evoking the countries GDR and FRG as different. Thus, while the speaker distances himself in relation to the past, he also keeps a distance in the present at the time of the utterance.

It is possible that the bracketing indexes an apology for evoking the division into GDR and FRG through words such as *rüberzumachen*, for the awkwardness of using these words from the past. After all, the border, that element which created the connotations of words such as *rüberkommen* and *rübergehen*, is not there any more.

In comparing segments 5.6 and 5.9, it is striking that the talk show host in 5.9 indexes a switch to a different voice while the talk show host in 5.6 does not. TS2 in segment 5.9 indicates his awareness of the limitations in projecting a point of view of the previously other community, while TS1 does not. Among the variables that are different for TS1's and TS2's speech situation is that the dates of the shows are different; the tensions between eastern and western Germany were higher in 1993 than in 1989. In 1989, a positive euphoria dominated the

relationship between East and West Germany. In addition, the conversation for TS1 takes place in western Germany for western German audiences, while TS2 talks in eastern Germany for an eastern German audience. Thus, while TS1 (segment 5.6) is on “familiar” ground, talking as a West German to West German audiences, TS2 (segment 5.9) is on “unfamiliar” ground, talking as a western German to eastern German audiences.

Data segment 5.10 follows after the previous segment in the same talk show. This segment shows that, when speakers formulate places of arrival, ambiguities arise with the social spaces in flux and that once again, social conditions in Germany are important variables. TS2 again employs the GDR voice while indicating his outsidership.

Data segment 5.10:

Die Riverboat Talkshow, MDR, April 23, 1993
place: Dresden (eastern Germany)

TS2 ... Talk show host (Jan Hofer, western German)

MA... Marijam Agischewa (eastern German, escaped the GDR in summer 1989)

- 1 TS2: hatten Sie eigentlich Probleme wieder **zurückzukommen**
 did you have any problems **coming back**
- 2 in **ihre alte Heimat**
 to **your old home/homeland**

The return which TS2 addresses happened after 1989, when the social space referred to as *ihre alte Heimat* (your old home/homeland) was already in flux. MA’s home used to be the GDR but by then unification had made East Germany part of a new social space that was joined to West Germany. The ambiguity arises because the referent is diffuse for reasons of social change:

TS2's question addresses a return to a place that no longer exists though it is still MA's *alte Heimat* (old home/homeland) of the past.

I now want to address how TS2 employs the GDR voice while indicating his outsidership in the data segment. By selecting *zurückzukommen* (to come back), TS2 positions himself in eastern Germany as the social space of arrival. He employs the GDR voice as opposed to the alternative *zurückzugehen* (to go back). When formulating the space, he excludes himself by using "your" instead of "our home." Though he positions himself in that local space by *zurückzukommen*, he does not claim membership with the community of that space before 1989, thus indexing his origins in the FRG.

So far, I have argued that *ihre alte Heimat* (your old home/homeland) is heard as returning to the social space which used to be GDR. It could also denote the local geographical space, for example the town or *Land* where the talk show takes place. The reason why the social space GDR comes to mind first as the referent, is because *rübergehen* (go over there) earlier in the conversation (see data segment 5.9) invokes leaving the GDR and going to the FRG. while *zurückzukommen* in this segment denotes the opposite movement. It is likely that the verb couple *rübergehen* and *zurückkommen*, which was used during the times that the GDR and the FRG were separate countries to denote opposite movements (and voices), influences the understanding that these verbs are attached to the social spaces of eastern and western Germany even after unification. MA's following response to TS2's question is evidence that *alte Heimat* (old home place) is heard as referring to the social space of eastern Germany after unification:

Data segment 5.11:

Die Riverboat Talkshow, MDR, April 23, 1993

place: Dresden (eastern Germany)

TS2 ... Talk show host (Jan Hofer, western German)

MA... Marijam Agischewa (eastern German, escaped the GDR in summer 1989)

- 3 MA: naja (.) Probleme kann ich nich sagen, aber es war schon
well (.) not really problems, but it was definitely
- 4 anders, (.2) s war ja ne Menge passiert und ich war nich
different, (.2) a lot had happened and I did not
- 5 dabei und die Menschen haben sich auch verändert
witness it and the people have changed too

In data segment 5.11, MA refers to social problems (*Probleme*, 1.3). that were a result of the changes in eastern Germany. Thus, she evokes the social space eastern Germany.

The analysis of data segments from 1993 has revealed that speakers index past social spaces of GDR and FRG at the time when these spaces do not exist any more. Only in talk about the past are these spaces brought back by speakers.

5.4 CONCLUSION

The motion verbs *rüberkommen* and *rübergehen*, as well as similar motion verbs and colloquial variants denoting immigration between the GDR and the FRG, are verbal resources that position German speakers in relation to social spaces. These verbs had acquired specific profiles and connotations during the time when GDR and FRG were two separate countries. In conversations, these verbs may evoke a GDR voice or a FRG voice depending on the trajectors and grounds. I argued that, in certain speech situations, these voices may index the

speaker's identification with the social space evoked by the voice. I further argued that the specific profiles and connotation that these verbs developed before 1989 position speakers and audiences in the social spaces of eastern and western Germany in talk after 1989. Thus, the East German-West German-relation is still present in speakers' use of those motion verbs that refer to national communities.

The German motion verbs are further evidence that language symbolically organizes the world. Since these motion verbs denote social spaces as points of departure and arrival, these spaces exist as conceptual spaces even after they lost their anchoring to geographic places. Their anchoring to geographic places only becomes evident in habitual ways in which speakers use these verbs that contrast with habitual ways of people in the "other" place. If speakers are physically located in the "other" place, motion verbs (as adverbs) reveal a disjunction between the speaker's physical location and the social spaces denoted by these verbs. The case study of these German motion verbs reveals that they denote relationships between social spaces, rather than geographic locations.

Chapter Six: Repair - tweaking identities and relationships

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In the preceding chapters I discussed nominals, pronouns, adverbs, adjectives, and verbs as classifications for personal and national identities in the interaction. The present chapter builds on these previous discussions: all data segments examined in this chapter contain some of these classifications. In addition, these data segments all have in common that they contain *repair*, a speech mechanism I will describe in detail below. Repair is a linguistic resource for formulating and negotiating personal and national identities in the speech situation. I will also touch on the importance of repair for language change and on the connection between repair phenomena and social change. The present chapter, as previous ones, presents the results of verbal interactions on German talk shows between 1989 and 1994.

6.2 TERMINOLOGY AND BACKGROUND

6.2.1 Repair as a speech mechanism

In the discussion of repair in this chapter, I rely on terminology introduced by Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977) that describes repair as an organized speech mechanism. I will first provide an example of repair from my data, which I will use to explain this interactional speech mechanism. Since I focus on the speech mechanism itself and not on its functions, I leave out the information

about the setting for now. This information will become crucial in my later discussion of the repair segments. Repair is contained in the following data segment:

Data segment 6.1:

- 1 T: ich würde aber sagen im Bezug auf das vereinte Europa
 I would say in regard to the unified Europe
- 2 muß **Deutschland** (.) **das geeinte Deutschland** dann
 Germany (.) **the unified Germany** must then

A repair segment consists of several parts. The item *deutschland* is the *repairable* or the *trouble source*, i.e. that “which the repair addresses” (Schegloff et al. 1977: 363). The item *das geeinte Deutschland* is called the *outcome* (264) or *solution*. In the data segment above, the same speaker performs both the outcome and the repairable; such a kind of repair is called a *self-repair*. In contrast, an *other-repair* is when the outcome is delivered by another speaker.

Schegloff et al. (1977) distinguish the outcome of repair from its *initiation*, the way in which the trouble source is brought to attention and an outcome is made relevant. The initiation in the example above is indexed by the pause after *Deutschland*. The repair in the example is *self-initiated*, i.e. initiated by the speaker who performs the repairable. In contrast, *other-initiated* repair refers to repair that is initiated by someone other than the speaker who performed the repairable. Repair is frequently initiated by non-lexical speech perturbations, specifically cut-offs and pauses.¹⁸³ However, self-initiated self-(completed)-

¹⁸³ See Schegloff et al. (1977: 367) for other initiator techniques.

repair may also include cases where there is no noticeable repair initiation, as in the following data segment:

Data segment 6.2:

in Deutschland in Westdeutschland
in Germany in West Germany

I consider such cases repairs because they are very similar to instances in which some kind of perturbation signals repair initiation, as in the following data segment:

Data segment 6.3:

neue Bundesländer- eh ehemalige DDR
new federal states- uhm former GDR

Both data segments contain repairs, even though the repair in 6.2 is not initiated by cut-off, pause or other repair initiation device (such as *eh* in segment 6.3). The repairs in both segments can be recognized as repairs because repairables (*Deutschland*, *neue Bundesländer*) and outcomes (*Westdeutschland*, *ehemalige DDR*) are syntactically exclusive; they share the same syntactic space. In contrast, deictic expansions that I discuss in chapters 4 and 5 are not repairs. Deictic expansions such as *wir in der Bundesrepublik* (we in the FRG) are different in that the expanded item (*in der Bundesrepublik*) has the deictic (*wir*) as its head; the place name modifies or specifies the deictic *wir*.

Initiation and outcome of repair can be identified as two parts of a sequential process, in which the second (the *solution*¹⁸⁴) is contingent upon the first (the *repairable*) and the first makes the second relevant. The term *repair segment* is used in reference to this sequential nature of repair. In my further discussion of repairs, I use the term *repairable* for the first part and *solution* for the second part of this sequence. In my discussion above, I focused on self-initiated self-repair because that is the kind of repair most frequently found in my data on person and place references.¹⁸⁵

6.2.2 Repair versus correction

The repair in data segment (1) *Deutschland* (.) *das geeinte Deutschland* is a special kind of repair, namely a *correction*. Correction includes “word replacement” (Schegloff et al. 1977: 370). In the examples provided by Schegloff et al. (1977: 370), word replacements are made between words or phrases of the same semantic relation (e.g. antonyms). Words or phrases displaying such relations, if positioned in sequential order, are recognized as corrections (cf. data segments 6.1-6.3). While these corrections employ the mechanism available for word replacements, these corrections can be doing work other than correcting in the interaction. Correction, as a mechanism, can be used to camouflage other business such as the negotiation of identities. I will focus on such “camouflaged”

¹⁸⁴ I use the term *solution* for the word/phrase which speakers suggest during the repair as the alternative for the repairable.

¹⁸⁵ This is not surprising since there is a preference within the turn-taking-system for self-initiated repair because self-initiation is the first opportunity of possible repair initiation. See Schegloff et al. (1977) for an analysis of other opportunities and also for an argument for the preference of self-correction over other-correction.

secondary business as one among other functions of repair discussed in this chapter.

Conversation analysts have pointed out that repair is “neither contingent upon error, nor limited to replacement” (Schegloff et al. 1977: 363). Repair includes phenomena where there is no obvious error but where speakers halt their speech marking some word as troublesome before proceeding with talk. Likewise, an obvious speech error (grammatical or otherwise) does not necessarily call for repair, thus may not be repaired at all. Repair also includes word searches in which the “correct” word might not appear in talk at all. Word searches are forward-looking repairs in which speakers initiate repair by marking their following talk as problematic, namely as not being able to say the next word or phrase. In that sense, word searches, as all other kinds of repairs, address “recurrent problems in speaking, hearing, and understanding” (Schegloff et al. 1977: 361). Besides this aspect of addressing these problems, repairs can perform specific functions in a particular speech situation. In the next section, I discuss selected literature which has focused on such functional aspect of repairs.

6.2.3. Investigating functions of repairs

There is an agreement in the literature that repair is a device to achieve intersubjective understanding (Schegloff et al. 1974; Nofsinger 1992). Repair is understood as an “alignment device” (Nofsinger 1992) for fixing one’s own or others’ speech in the event of a problem or even non-problem.

The “problem” indexed by the use of repair can be of different nature. Also, if repair is used in the event where there is no audible error, the question is what other functions repair performs. Jefferson (1974) argues that repair plays an important role in indexing social relationships between interlocutors. In her analysis of court room interaction, Jefferson argues that repair “can be used to invoke alternatives to some current formulation of self and other(s), situation and relationship, and thereby serve as a resource for negotiating and perhaps reformulating a current set of identities” (181). Jefferson addresses an important function of repair, its ability to index a change of relationships between the very individuals and groups constructed in the speech situation. Jefferson’s analysis and argument offers some key observations for my discussion of the German data.

Keating (1993) draws attention to another function of repair. In her analysis of band rehearsals, she finds that the employment of self-correction mitigates critique. Keating analyzes instances where the speaker corrects others while at the same time using self-correction. She argues that the other-correction is mitigated, not heard as strongly, because the speaker marks his own speech as imperfect.

Other more psychologically oriented studies, have described repair as a phenomenon internal to the speaker without considering the interactive exchange with other participants and contexts in the speech situation. Goodwin (1979) critiques such approaches and points out that speakers in these approaches are made objects of their psychological worlds and psyches. In addition to not considering the impact that the speech situation and interlocutors has on language use, speakers themselves are stripped off their agentive roles.

In contrast to these psychologically-based approaches, I consider repair a matter of the entire speech situation. The interaction between speaker and addressee is as much part of this speech situation as the social and cultural contexts. This holistic approach builds on research by conversation analysts who are interested in talk as social activity. An analysis of repair cannot be reduced to focusing on the speaker but has to consider interlocutors as part of the speech situation as well. Research in this tradition presumes that repair discloses information about social categories and relationships that can be employed by participants as a strategic device for their own purposes (Goodwin 1979 and 1980; Jefferson 1974; and Keating 1992).

6.2.4. Methodological considerations

In this section, I will comment on the reasons for studying repair and on premises and procedures driving my analysis of repair. This dissertation was begun, to a large extent, because I noticed the frequency of repair in formulations of national identities in German conversations after 1989 which I observed and also participated in. As part of the analysis of German data for my dissertation, I started to do a more systematic analysis of the occurrence (and non-occurrence) of repair.

From the abundance of repair in my data I have selected specific instances of repair. These instances are those containing nouns, pronouns, adverbs, and adjectives that denote national identities. I will focus on the selection of particular words and phrases involved in the repair as the repairable and the solution. The

speakers' selection of words may change voices and relationships between the participants in the speech situation. Repair has the effect that the selection of words becomes marked; repair highlights words the speaker selects. Marking occurs because repair halts the speech flow and is recognized as possibly indexing some problem.

If words get replaced in the repair, I draw attention to the differences between the repairable compared to the replacing item. Word replacement can have an impact on altering the relationships between participants and groups involved in the speech situation, and I will discuss these alterations. Since I argue that the speech situation, including the date of the show and the identities of speakers, can have an impact of repair performing a particular function. I will draw attention to the setting. I argue that the linguistic context, including the framing of the speech situation by talk show hosts or participants, and the social and cultural contexts have an impact on the occurrence and on the meaning of repair. I will compare repairs with similar speech segments where repair would have been possible but was not initiated. This comparison helps to understand the impact of contexts for repair phenomena. Schegloff (1979) points out that repair is potentially relevant anywhere in talk and relevant to any sentence (269). This suggests that there may be contexts which are more prone to yield repair in this talk show data.

My analysis is based on the following parameters: what gets repaired, when (setting including date) and by whom. Taking this approach allows me to explain repair as a matter of social and cultural contexts rather than of the internal psychological problems of the speaker. I argue that repair is an important speech

mechanism whose analysis can offer understanding about social and cultural relationships between parties of the speech situation. Understanding repair in the German data can ultimately be tied to the social changes in Germany. In fact, I argue that repair is an important mechanism to alter perceptions about present social spaces and to promote language change resulting from social change.

6.3 REPAIR IN MY DATA: AN OVERVIEW

This section is meant as an overview of repairs in my data. In this section, I will comment first on the occurrence of repair and second, on what repair in the German data accomplishes. These remarks are meant as an introduction to a more detailed discussion on repair segments that follow.

I noticed that repair occurs on some talk shows more often than on others. There seems to be a correlation between the talk show host's choice of label and the occurrence of repair in my data. If one of several competing terms are introduced by the talk show host, this term is usually the one which gets used throughout the show also by other speakers. This fact corresponds to Schegloff's (1972) observations on the consistency in the use of terminology. It might also, however, point to the institutional power of the talk show host who not only sets the agenda but also establishes norms for language use. For example, if the term *DDR* is introduced by the talk show host without any repair, it is most likely the term which is going to be used throughout the show by other speakers, too, without repair.

However, I did not find this consistency on all shows where the talk show host selects one specific term from available alternatives. Other factors have to be considered, such as the date of the show. For example, terms that became linguistic resources in 1991 did not exist in 1989. Moreover, place terms such as the place name *Deutschland* (see section 3.3.1) had different meanings and connotations at different times. Also, relationships between political and social groups in the social space have changed over the past decade, as has the notion of “Germanness.”

What I will term *habitualization* has to be considered as a possible explanation for inconsistency in the usage of terms. Speakers from eastern and western Germany were habituated to different terms in denoting social spaces. In Chapter Four, I have discussed how linguistic resources that refer to social spaces become naturalized over time for speakers of a community. Speakers in a community rely on shared knowledge; they use conventional, habitualized, legitimized forms of language to express their relationship to social spaces. These spaces are constituted in everyday interactions and through usage become naturalized cognitive categories and “common sense knowledge” (Schegloff 1972). At times of social and linguistic change like those found in the German data, speakers cannot fall back on conventional terms. The initiation of self-repair can be attributed to a large extent to the loss in reference to previously naturalized social spaces.

Borneman (1992) demonstrates that people develop a *Zuhause*-feeling (at home feeling) over time (31), a belonging, independent of the relationship they have to that *Zuhause* (home). Speakers establish ties to a place habitually by

employing linguistic resources that express this belonging. These resources are deictics associated with spaces of national communities to define the “here” and “there” (or the “we” and “they”), as discussed in Chapter Five. but these are also place and person descriptions. Habitualization then means that speakers are accustomed to refer to their *Zuhause* with a particular place name, and as a result they define themselves as part of that *Zuhause*. In relying on linguistic resources which become habitual, speakers make these resources legitimate forms of reference which seem natural rather than ideologically biased as they may be.

Repair phenomena in the German data of my analysis indicate that this “natural order” is challenged. If speakers employ repair, the repairable is often the term which is the old, habitual term for the speaker, while the solution defines the new relationships within the social space. From a cognitive perspective, this means that the old terms “come to mind first” and are therefore pronounced in the utterance first, and then repair is initiated. The argument about repair as a matter of habitualization can be made because eastern and western Germans initiate repair on different words, namely those which are more habitual or (in functional terms) “emotionally closer” (Kuno 1987) or more affectively proximal for them while other terms are more distant. It follows that repair is not always consciously employed but might be due to habitual changes. These habitual changes can ultimately be linked to social changes which make it impossible to use old forms of referring to national social spaces.

While the social, and consequently habitual, changes may answer why repairs occur in the first place, the more interesting question is what repair does in terms of constituting and negotiating personal and social identities. Ultimately,

repairs can announce identity formulations also in cases where habitual usage triggers repair. In these cases, gesture is often an important contextualization cue and resource for speakers as part of the repair.

From the discussion so far, it is obvious that repairs occur with eastern Germans as well as western Germans.¹⁸⁶ However, repair accomplishes different acts for eastern and western Germans. The nominal and deictic formulations under consideration mean something different to speakers of these groups. Terms associated with eastern Germany are “closer” to an eastern German, whereas terms associated with western Germany are “closer” to a western German. Since some terms are “closer” to the speaker than others, it makes a difference if speakers initiate repair on their “own” terms or on “others” terms. While the first acts on the speaker’s own identity, the latter acts on somebody else’s identity. Repair on one’s “own” terms is therefore necessarily related to changes in habitus (as change of relationship between individual and social structure). They are “acts of identity” (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985). On the other hand, self-repairs and other-repairs involving the terms of the “other,” invade the “territory of information” (Kamio 1997) of others.

The discussion in Chapters Three through Five demonstrated that repair does not occur every time speakers employ place names or ambiguous deictics: the repair mechanism is therefore not employed simply to solve potential referential ambiguities. If repair occurred for reasons of referential ambiguity only, we would expect to find other-initiated repair more often than self-initiated repair.

¹⁸⁶ Statistical analysis would be necessary in order to determine if repairs are equally distributed among eastern and western Germans. This is, however, beyond the goal of this dissertation.

The occurrence of repair in the data, in contrast to non-occurrence. indexes that repair has other functions than solving ambiguities.

Among the data segments in absence of repair are those where place names are employed in object specifications as in *Fernsehen aus der DDR*. It seems to be that repair occurs less often when an object such as *Fernsehen* is characterized by a place name. Repair seems to occur more often with person formulations such as the following:

Data segment 6.4:

MDR-Club, MDR, August 21, 1992

FB... Franz Beckenbauer (soccer coach, Western German)

- 1 A: Spielern die in der DDR-der ehemaligen DDR
 players who played in the GDR- the
- 2 gespielt haben
 former GDR

Data segment 6.5:

Talk im Turm, Sat 1, 1991

JS... Johanna Schall (actress, eastern German)

- 1 JS: weil ich der einzige bin ehem (.) der aus der .hh DDR
 because I am the only one uhm (.) who comes from the
- 2 kommt- aus der ehemaligen DDR
 .hh GDR- from the former GDR

Both data segments (6.4 and 6.5), contain repairs involving person formulations. The first repair occurs when the place name is part of a relative clause describing a person (segment 6.4), the second repair occurs when the place name is part of a person description formulated as: "I am from x" (segment 6.5).

In contrast, when speakers employ compounds such as *DDR-Dramatiker*, they repair less often. There is obviously a correlation between syntax and repair¹⁸⁷ which is, however, not the main focus of this dissertation.

In the remaining sections of the chapter, I discuss different accomplishments of repairs indicated by the titles of each section. The segments chosen for each section are exemplary of the different processes indicated by each heading. This does not mean that the processes are restricted solely to the segments. Rather, they occur with other data segments as well. Nor does it mean that the segments are restricted to one process only. Rather, processes can overlap within one segment, even though I may choose to focus on one of these processes and neglect others in the discussion which are not the focus of the section. The segments are not always arranged by date, but whenever possible, I favor an organization by date in order to show how repairs change over time.

6.3.1 Altering identities

6.3.1.1 Deutschland: *altering identities through self-repair*

The repairable in the data segments of this section is *Deutschland*. The two data segments I will focus on are dated February and September 1990. I have chosen both segments to discuss how self-repair may alter identities of speakers by negotiating inclusion and exclusion of self and others.

The repairs in the two segments are, in brief:

¹⁸⁷ The relationship between syntax and repair has recently received more attention by conversation analysts (Schegloff 1979).

Data segment 6.6.a:

Freitagnacht (DN 116), February 9, 1990

in Deutschland in Westdeutschland
in Germany in West Germany

Data segment 6.7.a:

We are somebody again, (DN 192), September 20, 1990
place: Mainz (western Germany)

Deutschland (.) das geeinte Deutschland
Germany (.) the unified Germany

In both repairs above, the repairable *Deutschland* is corrected to an expanded place term. In the first repair, the repairable is expanded into a compound (*Westdeutschland*); in the second repair, an adjective is added (*geeinte Deutschland*). These syntactic expansions modify the repairable and make the place formulations more specific.¹⁸⁸ These specifications are consequential in projecting alternative identities for speakers and audiences and the social space indexed by the place formulations.

I argue that knowledge about the speakers from earlier identity assignments enters into the meaning of the repairs. The relationships of East and West Germans to the place names is different since it can be their “own” place or the place of the “other.” I argue that, while altering their own identities through the repairs, the repair has an impact on the identities of co-present parties and overhearers. In particular, repairs project different processes of inclusion and exclusion.

¹⁸⁸ My use of the term “specified” does not correspond with Schegloff’s term “specification” (1992: 1311). Schegloff uses this term for a specific kind of third position repair. I use “specified” in regard to limiting the scope of reference, i.e. making something less ambiguous, by way of self-repair.

Focusing on these aspects of inclusion and exclusion. I will now discuss each segment separately. The speaker in the first segment is Beate Uhse, from West Germany, who is a woman in her 70s and an entrepreneur in the production and promotion of erotic merchandise.

Data segment 6.6.b:

Freitagnacht (DN 116), February 9, 1990

BU... Beate Uhse (West German entrepreneur in the production and promotion of erotic merchandise)

- 1 BU: wir haben in diesen ersten Wochen ungefähr 30 000
 we sold during these first three weeks approximately
- 2 Kataloge in den **grenznahen Shops** verschenkt. (.)
 30,000 catalogues in the **shops near the border**. (.)
- 3 **in Deutschland in Westdeutschland** (.) kosten die
 in Germany in West Germany (.) they usually
- 4 üblicherweise (.) fünf Mark.
 cost (.) five marks

Before I focus on the repair in segment 6.6.b, I will briefly remark on the phrase *grenznahen Shops*. The border is here contextualized as the border which used to divide the GDR and the FRG. At the time of speaking, this border was still in existence but its quality had changed because East Germans could cross this border after the fall of the Wall. The adjective *grenznahe*, however, does not index this change.

In contrast to the repairable *Deutschland* (l.3), the candidate repair *Westdeutschland* (l.3) formulates the place specifically as West Germany, though both formulations can be equally understood as the speaker's place of origin. While *Deutschland* is ambiguous, *Westdeutschland* is more specific and

formulates the speaker's West German identity. More importantly, the formulation *Westdeutschland* is associated with its counterpart *Ostdeutschland* in a way that *Deutschland* is not.¹⁸⁹ Thus, while *Westdeutschland* formulates an identity for the speaker's ingroup, it also implies an identity for East Germans, possibly as part of the same social space: *Deutschland*. To the panel guests and the audience from eastern Germany, the repair is a positive politeness strategy (Brown and Levinson 1984), namely promoting common ground. Although it exposes East Germans as other, it includes them into *Deutschland* next to West Germans.

In segment 6.7.b, the speaker also reformulates *Deutschland* in the repair and consequently alters not only the social space but also his position in it. The speaker is a member of the studio audience on a talkshow with young Europeans discussing possible consequences of the upcoming unification for Europe. The speaker is introduced as East German earlier in the show.

Data segment 6.7.b:

We are somebody again (DN 192), September 20, 1990
place: Mainz (West Germany)

T... Torsten (East German from the studio audience)

- 1 T: ich würde aber sagen im bezug auf das vereinte Europa
 I would say in regard to the unified Europe
- 2 muß **Deutschland (.) das geeinte Deutschland** dann
 Germany (.) the unified Germany must then
- 3 ebend die wirklich- (.) ne Kraft sein die den Prozeß
 be the real- (.) a power which pushes the process

¹⁸⁹ *Ostdeutschland* (eastern Germany) corresponds to *Westdeutschland* (western Germany) on a political plane, whereas southern and northern Germany are regional entities. *Westdeutschland* is contextualized in the speech situation as a political entity which evokes eastern Germany as a counterpart.

The repairable *Deutschland* is contextualized in the segment as the future Germany, which is unified Germany because unification is only two weeks away at the time of speaking. Therefore, the reference is hardly ambiguous and is only made clearer by the specifying adjective in the repair solution *das geeinte Deutschland*. The repair in this segment accomplishes something other than clarifying the referent.

The place term *das geeinte Deutschland*, for the future Germany, stresses Germany's unification and gives the impression that something new is to come. In contrast, *Deutschland* carries negative connotations, among others, that of Germany's role in the WW II; the term *Deutschland* has a history. Since the topic of the talk show addresses the question whether Germany will constitute a possible political and military danger, as it did in the past, the repair is contextualized by this topic. The repair indicates that Germany will have changed from previous "Germanys." The modifier *geeinte* highlights unification as a positive quality of a changed Germany.

In addition, the repair does identity work for the speaker. The term *geeinte Deutschland* formulates the inclusion of the East German speaker into the future Germany; the word *geeinte* stresses both future western and eastern Germany as part of *das geeinte Deutschland*. The speaker, an East German, has his own personal identity entangled in the formulation of a unified Germany. In contrast, the speaker is not as easily included in the term *Deutschland* because of

the associations of that term with the FRG. This association builds on the (self-chosen and other-attributed) alienation of the GDR from pre-1945 Germany as well as from the FRG during times of division. Thus, the East German speaker brings East Germany back into *Deutschland* through his own “body” in conjunction with the repair solution *das geeinte Deutschland*. In comparison, the same repair, if done by a West German speaker, would not have this effect.

The repairs in segments 6.6 and 6.7 make semantic changes on *Deutschland* a matter of the speech situation. These semantic changes evidence a “semantic reeducation” (Clyne 1995: 87) for both East and West Germans after 1989. Repairs are a covert way of introducing these changes because of repair’s function as a speech mechanism addressing problems in speaking, hearing, and understanding. Thus, repairs are able to camouflage these semantic changes as problems of speech. The repairs in segments 6.6 and 6.7 are very similar to metacommentaries which speakers regularly employ to comment on words or phrases. In order to exemplify this comparison of repair with metacommentaries, I will provide data segment 6.8 which contains a metacommentary on *Deutschland*. The speaker in this segment, Otto Schily, was at the time of the talk show a FRG politician of the *SPD* (Party of the Social Democrats) who was previously a politician for the Green Party. Panel guests are from the FRG and the GDR and the studio audience can be assumed to include both guests from the GDR and the FRG (mostly West Berlin).

Data segment 6.8:

Berlin 19 (DN 76), *Hessen 3* (N 3, SFB), November 24, 1989
place: Berlin (West)

OS... Otto Schily

- 1 OS: ich glaube dass wir in **Deutschland** >und die DDR ist
I that we in **Germany** >and the GDR is
- 2 **da irgendwo Deutschland** muss man so sagen<
somehow Germany one has to say<

In segment 6.8, the speaker uses a metacommentary on *Deutschland*, namely *und die DDR ist da irgendwo Deutschland*. This metacommentary specifies the ambiguous word *Deutschland*. The speaker presents a conceptualization of the social space “Germany” which is very similar to the repair in segment 6.7. The metacommentary, just as the repair in segment 6.7, articulates the inclusion of the GDR into *Deutschland*. By implication, *Deutschland* is not to be understood as restricted to West Germany only. In segment 6.8 from November 24, 1989, the speaker formulates a unified Germany prior to unification in October 1990. At that time, place formulations such as *das geeinte Deutschland* were not available as a linguistic resource without promoting a unification of East and West Germany at the time when some people, especially East Germans, discussed a “third way” as alternative to unification (see section 1.3.1). Compared to the metacommentary in segment 6.8, in which the speaker describes his concept of *Deutschland*, the repair in segment 6.7 from September 20, 1990, contains the place formulation *das geeinte Deutschland* which, at the time, has no political alternative.

In segment 6.8, the West German speaker’s metacommentary formulates “German” identities for the East German audience, namely their inclusion into *Deutschland*. This formulation specifically addresses East Germans as part of

Deutschland, which makes it similar to the repair in *Deutschland in Westdeutschland* in segment 6.6. I have argued that this repair makes East Germans relevant as a group by formulating *Westdeutschland* as part of *Deutschland*.

The repairs in segments 6.6 *Deutschland in Westdeutschland* and 6.7 *Deutschland (.) das geeinte Deutschland* and the metacommentary in segment 6.8 alter speakers' relationships to social spaces and to audiences. While speakers draw attention to place classifications, either through repair or through metacommentary, they formulate their own affiliation the very social spaces they construct and they also include East Germans. Since East Germans are part of the audience (the studio as well as on the television audience), the formulations by West German speakers open spaces for East Germans to include themselves in the social space of a future Germany. However, while the inclusion of East Germans is implied in the repair segments 6.6 and 6.7, the inclusion is explicitly articulated in the metacommentary of segment 6.8. In contrast to the explicit metacommentary, the repairs camouflage identity formulations.

6.3.1.2 *Deutschland and Deutsch*: altering identities through other-initiated repair

The two segments of this section contain other-initiated repairs, i.e. repairs that a participant other than the speaker initiates. Both segments involve repair on the terms *deutsch* and *Deutschland*. In my discussion of the repairs I argue that the repairs become meaningful negotiations of identities and social spaces if social roles of actors and contexts at the time of speaking are taken into account.

Data segment 6.9 presents a rare instance where a panel guest initiates repair on a talk show host's turns. It would appear that the role relationship of guest and talk show host does not allow other-initiated repair by guests. This seems especially true for talk shows with a formal setting, for example, where guests and talk show hosts use *Sie* (you, formal) to address each other. In the talk show that provides the following data segment, the guest L and the talk show host TS use *du* (you, informal) to address each other. It is possible that the two have known each other for a long time, in which case *du* would be the unmarked form of address. The use of the informal *du* makes the role asymmetries (talk show host vs. guest) less salient, which might be one reason why other-initiated repair is possible for the guest.

I present the following segment as an example where a repair involving *deutsch* negotiates interlocutors' inclusion and exclusion with respect to national identities. The date of the show is one day after the fall of the Berlin Wall: the speakers previously talked about L's experience of this event. Speakers are the western German talk show host TS4 and the East German panel guest L. The guest L, Wolfgang Lippert, is a singer who had his own shows in the GDR and in the FRG. He is an "unusual" East German since travel from the GDR to the FRG was not freely possible.

Data segment 6.9:

III nach 9, N3, November 10, 1989

place: West Germany

TS 4... Talkshow host (Giovanni di Lorenzo)

L ... Wolfgang Lippert (singer, East German)

1 L: und das dann irgendwann die Nachrichten waren=
 here and then at some point the news came on

- 2 TS4: =für deine deutsche Show hier in der
 =for your German show here in
- 3 **Bundesrepublik**
 the Federal Republic
- 4 L: für die Sh::ow hier in der Bundesrepublik
 yes for my sh::ow here in the Federal Republic
- 5 TS4: muss man aufpassen jetzt mit **deutsch**
 got to be careful with the (word) **German now**
- 6 L: ja muß man: jetzt (0.1) aufpassen einfach bisschen
 yeah just have (0.1) to be a little careful now

I will first describe the repair and then discuss its implications. In line 2, TS4 specifies L's show as *deutsche Show*. L, in line 4, initiates repair and provides a candidate repair himself; he drops *deutsch* but repeats the rest of TS4's turn with the description of the show as *show hier in der Bundesrepublik*. In the following, TS4 does a metacommentary on the use of the word *deutsch* in line 5 which L repeats in agreement in line 6. Obviously, both speakers mark the use of *deutsche* in the phrase *deutsche Show hier in der Bundesrepublik* as problematic.

As the segments in the previous section have shown, the fall of the Wall makes it problematic to combine *deutsch* and *Bundesrepublik* to refer to one social space. While *Bundesrepublik* denotes the FRG, it has become problematic with the fall of the Wall to use *deutsch* in reference to the FRG alone. With the fall of the Wall, the combination of *Bundesrepublik* and *deutsch* as denoting the same social space becomes one of several competing concepts of (East and/or West) Germanies national identities. If the fall of the Wall is seen as bringing East and West Germany together, it initiated a re-appropriation of the adjective

deutsch that made it refer to both East and West Germany, just as *Deutschland* in the data segments of the previous section. Suddenly with the fall of the Wall, East Germans may claim a right to be included in that space based on one of the competing notions of “Germanness.” When L drops *deutsch* in the next turn (1.04), he lets *Bundesrepublik* stand by its own without using *deutsch* as a qualifier. Since L initiates repair on TS4’s turn and provides the repair solution himself, the repair marks TS4’s language use as strong disagreement. The repair indexes that L, as an East German, re-appropriates *deutsch* to possibly include himself by suggesting that TS4 cannot use it exclusively in reference to West Germany any more. TS4’s following agreement with the repair initiation (1.5) and L’s second agreement (1.6), however, mitigate this strong disagreement again to suggest a mutual understanding about the difficulty of using the term *deutsch*, not favoring any particular notion of Germanness.

The second data segment in this section is also an other-initiated repair. The use of a place name again triggers a repair. The first speaker OK is identified earlier on the show as an East German theologian.

Data segment 6.10:

Live aus dem Schlachthof (DN 77), November 26, 1989, Hessen 3
place: Frankfurt/Main, West Germany

OK... Olaf Klein (East German theologian)

TS5... talk show host (West German)

- 1 OK: was ein großes Potential ist glaub ich .hh woraus auch
 a big potential I believe .hh which political parties
- 2 in Zukunft politische Kräfte schöpfen können .hh das
 can use in the future .hh that is
- 3 ist eh das Gefühl wirklich in Deutschland eine
 uh the feeling to really have succeeded in Germany

- 4 **demokratische Revolution** mit friedlichen Mitteln
with a **democratic revolution** without violence
- 5 vollbracht zu haben (.) bisher >muß ich sagen bisher<
up to know >I must say<
- 6 TS: >**in der DDR** würde ich sagen<
 >**in the GDR** I would say<
- 7 OK: und das eh und das geschafft zu haben das gibt einem
 and uh to have succeeded with that provides onself
- 8 zum allerersten mal so etwas wie eine **DDR Identität**,
 for the first time with something like a GDR identity,
- 9 (.)das hab ich an mir selbst das habe ich an vielen
 (.) I have seen that on me and on many
- 10 Freunden festgestellt
 friends

The speaker contextualizes the repairable *Deutschland* (l.3) as referring to the social space during the time of the *demokratische Revolution* (l.4) in the GDR. In this space, he includes the GDR because that is where the revolution took place but also the FRG is included as default part of *Deutschland*. Therefore, the speaker contextualizes the “democratic revolution” as a phenomenon of *Deutschland* rather than one of the GDR. This meaning is also rendered because the speaker does not specify the agents of the revolution (with the construction *etwas vollbracht zu haben*, l.5). Thus he does not formulate identities for people living in that social space *Deutschland* (cf. Chapter Three for innovative formulations as alternatives to East-West group formulations).

The talk show host initiates repair on OK’s *Deutschland* and suggests *in der DDR* as a repair solution. This repair restricts the place of the revolution to East Germany, in contrast to making it a phenomenon in *Deutschland* as OK

suggested. By using different place names, OK and TS5 base the classification of the revolution on the construction of different social spaces, i.e. different relationships between the GDR and the FRG. OK using *Deutschland* constructs GDR and FRG as one single social space, while TS5's candidate repair *in der DDR* makes GDR and FRG two separate social spaces. Interestingly, in their formulations, OK and TS5 reverse the historical relationships between the GDR and the FRG as seen by their countries; the GDR self-identified as an independent country (i.e. not *deutsch* but *DDR*) and the FRG legally included GDR citizens in its constitution by making it possible for them to become FRG citizens (see also Chapter One).

The different construction of social space also has consequences for the formulation of each other's identities. OK constructs the people in both countries as Germans; he neglects the border between East Germany and West Germany. The result is that he formulates his and the West German talk show host's identities as German instead of as East and West German. The repair solution *in der DDR würde ich sagen* provided by TS5, on the other hand, reformulates OK's identity as specifically East German, while making the revolution a GDR instead of a German phenomenon.

TS5's repair initiation and solution *in der DDR würde ich sagen* is an "exposed correction" (Jefferson 1987); correcting is made the interactional business. It becomes an insertion into OK's ongoing turn when OK marks his turn as a continuation, starting it with *und* (1.7). As Jefferson (ibid.) points out, the prior speaker has the option to reject or accept the repair solution and when a co-participant does exposed correction, the prior speaker usually also does exposed

acceptation or rejection (1987: 98). In the segment above, however, OK does an embedded acceptance to the candidate repair in formulating *DDR Identität* (l. 8) in his next turn. In contrast to his previous self-definition as German, he now formulates a GDR identity for himself. This formulation correlates with TS5's repair solution *in der DDR*. Now OK formulates an identity for GDR citizens as agents of the revolution in contrast to previously including them in one social space *Deutschland* together with people from the FRG. In doing so, he reformulates the revolution as a GDR phenomenon instead of making it an event of *Deutschland* earlier in the segment.

OK could have chosen to challenge the talk show host on his candidate repair by making repair the interactional focus. Instead, he accepts TS5's candidate repair in formulating *DDR Identität* in his own turn. OK's acceptance of TS5's correction indexes accommodation to TS5's suggestion. Since TS5 is the talk show host with more "symbolic capital" (Bourdieu 1994), OK's acceptance also indexes adherence to the talk show host's role. But since the talk show host also happens to be the West German, the asymmetrical relationship between talk show host and guest intersects with their asymmetrical West German and East German identities. The correction therefore generates some meaning in the sense that OK, the guest and East German, accommodates TS5 as the talk show host and West German.

In summary, the discussion so far has shown how speakers cope with the fact that *Deutschland* and *deutsch* are no longer resources to denote a particular space, West Germany, but, after the fall of the Wall, become associated with Germany's historical past. Also, these terms suddenly may make speakers

representatives of a unified Germany as one among several competing notions of Germanness. Whenever speakers correct *Deutschland* or *deutsch* to other place names or attributes, they also change their own identities and that of others in relation to German spaces.

6.3.2 Displaying stances

So far, I have argued that, through repair, speakers negotiate social spaces and alter identities. I also argued that identities of speakers contribute to the meaning of repairs, in particular identities which had previously been formulated in introductions by talk show hosts. Based on these previously formulated identities, it is possible that repairs index speakers' attitudes towards social spaces; repairs display speakers' stances. This display of stances will be the focus of this section. In the two segments I discuss, speakers are East/eastern Germans. I argue that the repairs gain specific meanings because time of speaking and identities of speakers function as two important contextualization cues. In both segments, which contain self-repairs, East/eastern German speakers initiate repair on formulations for the social space GDR; they initiate repair on terms which are "emotionally closer" to them.

6.3.2.1 Word-substitutes

Segment 6.11 is from the same talk show as the previous segment 6.10, which aired on November 26, 1989. In segment 6.11, the East German speaker formulates social space by using time formulations. In this segment, the speaker

initiates repair on this time formulation, produces another time formulation. initiates repair again and finally produces a “word-substitute” (a combination of letters which is not a word in German). In this process, the reference to social space is contextualized through what the speaker says; but it is never explicitly formulated. I argue that repair in this segment displays an attitude towards terms and/or social spaces associated with these terms.

The speaker in the segment is the lead singer in an East German band called “Silly” who is interviewed by the West German talk show host during a show for young people that takes place in West Germany. The topic of the show is “GDR” and the general motif stated at the beginning of the show is: “What can we [West Germans] learn from East Germany and what can East Germany learn from us.” Much of the discussion prior to this segment is about comparing life in East Germany with life in West Germany. In the following segment, the talk show host interviews the singer about her fans who are referred to as *die* (they, l.2).

Data segment 6.11:

Live aus dem Schlachthof, (DN 77 (0;27)), November 26, 1989
place: Frankfurt/Main, West Germany

TS...talk show host (West German)

D... Tamara Danz (East German lead singer of band “Silly”)

- 1 TS: Tamara ist das schon immer Euer Problem gewesen auch
Tamara has that always been your problem as well
- 2 bei Silly .hh dass **die** eher dann: die West Acts
with Silly .hh that **they** then rather wanted to listen
- 3 hören wollen
to the west acts

4 D: nö also nö- naja **die** wollen natürlich alles hören sind
no well no-well they of course want to hear everything

5 bisschen kurz gehalten worden **in letzter Zeit** .hh also
they were kept a little short **recently** .hh well

6 **>nich in allerletzter Zeit<** sondern in
>not very recently< but in

D rolls her eyes up and smiles
*----->

7 (.) **n:ehn:ele**
(.) **n:ehn:ele**

8 TS: mhm
mhm

9 (..) [D gaze around into the audience]

10 D: und da is natürlich klar da hat man ständig irgend
and it is obvious that we always fulfilled a kind of

11 ne Stellvertreterfunktion erfüllt
letting off steam function

The referents for the time formulation *in letzter Zeit* (l.5) and the word-substitute *n:ehn:ele* (l.7), which is not a word in German, are clearly contextualized as the social space of the GDR. Instead of using the term *DDR*, which was used earlier in the same show by other speakers, D selects a less descriptive time formulation. She initiates repair on the formulation *in letzter Zeit* (l.5), cutting off her speech and producing some metacommentary on the repairable, namely *nich in allerletzter Zeit sondern in* (l.6). The “not x but y” is a common format for self repair. The “not x” formulation in the segment limits the referent by excluding the most recent time (*nich in allerletzter Zeit*), but instead of a specific reference, a “but y” formulation, she offers the word-substitute *n:ehn:ele* (l.7). The “but y” formulation is also marked as problematic through a

cut-off and a pause. Together with the word-substitute, the speaker rolls her eyes and smiles, thus marking the word-substitute as problematic as well.

Although the format of cut-off, pause, and eye-rolling shows similarities to a word search, it is not treated as such by other interlocutors. The word substitute is taken to hold the place for a real word and it seems to be clear what the reference is. Neither the talk show host nor anybody else initiates repair that indicates they cannot recognize the referent for the word-substitute.

The speaker, D, performs additional verbal activity where one word, the place name *DDR* (GDR), would have been possible instead. Other place names like *neue Bundesländer* (new Federal States) and *ehemalige DDR* (former GDR) were only introduced with unification in October 1990. It can be argued that the selection of the word-substitute is an indication that language change was under way. But the word-substitute indexes something else. Not only the speaker but also the audience is required to do additional work in order to understand the speaker's non-descriptive reference. All this additional work, and the fact that the speaker, after initiating repair, does not provide a descriptive term but a word-substitute instead, marks the absence of the place name as meaningful and signals avoidance of a place name. Since the speaker herself lived in that social space she refers to, lack of knowledge can hardly be the reason for providing a more specific formulation.

Because the speaker, who is East German, lived in that place herself, a place name like GDR automatically positions her close (in Kuno's sense) to the social space to which her habitus relates. Her avoidance of that term becomes a comment on the term itself and/or the social space associated with it; it becomes a

resource to index non-solidarity with this place/social space where language use automatically positions the speaker close to it. The speaker can be seen as displaying a negative stance to that place or social space (cf. referring to something pejoratively as “that thing”). In speaking to an audience in West Germany, the speaker potentially aligns herself with a stereotypical West German position that rejects East Germany.

6.3.2.2 DDR: *self-repair and positioning*

The data segment I am about to discuss contains a repair that also positions the speaker in relation to her audience and displays a particular stance considering the time of speaking. The segment is drawn from *Talk im Turm* which aired on May 12, 1991. At that time, the unification of East and West Germany was already seven months old. With unification, new terminology was introduced, for example *ehemalige DDR* for the former country GDR (for other terminology see 3.3.1). The repair in the segment, which revolves around this terminology, is triggered by a change in habitual usage for JS. More importantly, it indexes JS’s position towards the terms and the social space associated with it.

The place of the talk show is the Interconti Hotel in Berlin (West): the general topic is the closing of theaters in (eastern and western) Germany. There are two Sat 1 talk show hosts with four western Germans and one eastern German as guests on the panel (cf. section 3.4.4 about the introduction of the guests at the beginning of this talk show). The eastern German guest is the speaker.

In the following, I provide an excerpt from the data segment that contains the repair:

Data segment 6.12.a:

Talk im Turm, Sat 1, May 12, 1991

place: Interconti Hotel in Berlin (West)

JS... Johanna Schall (eastern German actress)

- 15 JS: weil ich der Einzige
because I am the only one
- 16 bin ehem (.) der **aus der .hh DDR kommt** (.) -
who comes uhm (.) from the .hh GDR (.)
- 17 **aus der ehemaligen DDR**
from the former GDR

In this repair, JS corrects *aus der DDR* (from the GDR) to *aus der ehemaligen DDR* (from the former GDR). The repairable *aus der DDR* is the natural, habitual phrase to formulate where JS, the eastern German, is from. The place formulation *ehemalige DDR* was only introduced after unification and this term obviously marks the GDR as a past entity. Thus, the repair corrects old, habitual terminology to new terminology. It can also be argued that the repairable is triggered by the surrounding talk. Since I will discuss in which way the linguistic surrounding interacts with the repair, I will first present a longer transcript of the segment.

Data segment 6.12.b:

Talk im Turm, Sat 1, May 12, 1991

JS... Johanna Schall (eastern German actress)
TH1... Talkshow host 1 (western German)
TH2... Talkshow host 2 (western German)
F... Jürgen Flimm (western German critic)
M ... Matthias Matussek (western German critic and author)
HS... Helga Schuchardt (western German Minister of Education)

AE... August Everding (western German artistic director)

- 1 TH1: aber mit welcher Arroganz Herr Matussek und Herr Flimm
but with which arrogance Mister Matussek and Mister
- 2 letzten Endes sagen man sollte diese Theater in den-
Flimm say the one should [main verb left out] the
- 3 **der der ehemaligen** [DDR (jetzt einfach)
theater in **the- the the former**[GDR (simply now)]
- 4 JF: [hab ich [nicht gesagt
[I did not say
- 5 JS: [hat er nicht gesagt
[he did not say
- 6 MM: ich hab das auch nicht= hat **Heiner Mueller**
I also did not say= **Heiner Mueller**
- 7 [gesagt-ein **DDR Dramatiker**
[said [that] - a **GDR dramatician**
- 8 TH1: [was interessiert mich warum-
[I am not interested why-
- 9 ??: Entschuldigung [das hat er nicht
excuse me [he did not-
- 10 JF: [Moment ich habe das nicht gesagt
[excuse me I did not say that
- 11 MM: **Heiner Mueller ein DDR-Dramatiker** der kann diesen-
Heiner Mueller a GDR dramatician he can this-
- 12 TH1: [(.....)
- 13 JS: [Augenblick ich darf ich jetzt mal en-neh also ich bin-
[excuse me I may now finally- oh no finally I am-
- 14 TH2: Frau Schall hat das Wort bitte Frau Schall
it is Mrs Schall's turn please Mrs. Schall
- 15 JS: ich b- ich sag jetzt einfach mal was weil ich der
I a- I'll just say something now because I am the
- JS giggles
* -----*
- 16 einzige bin ehem (.) der **aus der .hh DDR kommt**
only one uhm (.) who comes **from the .hh GDR** (.)-

hand gesture [throwing behind]
----->

17 (.) ~~-aus der ehemaligen DDR~~ (.) also erstmal muss
 from the former GDR (.) well first I have to

18 [ich sagen
 [say
 [

19 TH2: [echeche
 (laughter)

20 ?: [ehe
 (laughter)

TH1 formulates the topic of the interaction (ll. 2-3) as talk about theaters in eastern Germany, in which he uses the phrase *ehemalige DDR*. The self-repair on this phrase marks the term as problematic. When TH1 repeats the articles several times, he first uses an article, *den*, which projects a different place formulation than the one he articulates. *Den* is dative plural, while *der* is dative singular feminine. Thus, it is most likely that TH1 intended to say *in den neuen Bundesländern* but rejected that formulation in favor of *in der ehemaligen DDR* which had been in use as the licensed form since unification.

In the exchange following this topic formulation, Heiner Müller is mentioned and described as *DDR-Dramatiker*. Considering that JS later initiates repair on *DDR* in formulating her own origin, it is interesting that no repair occurs on the formulation *DDR-Dramatiker*. JS, as the only person from eastern Germany, can claim co-membership with Heiner Müller who is assigned a GDR identity. In fact, this co-membership becomes relevant when JS takes the floor: she opens with an account for her speaking: *ich sage jetzt einfach mal was weil ich der einzige bin...* In her account, JS frames the topic of the talk as something

about the GDR where she feels authorized to speak as the only eastern German on the panel. TH2's invitation for JS to speak (l. 14) may also have triggered her account.

In the first formulation of her identity, *aus der DDR*,¹⁹⁰ JS therefore uses the same term, *DDR*, that was employed in Heiner Müller's identity assignment *Heiner Müller ein DDR-Dramatiker*. Thus, JS uses *DDR* co-referential which is a common practice among interlocutors. In contrast to *DDR* in JS's turn, which is repaired, the compound *DDR-Dramatiker* is not repaired. One explanation for the non-occurrence of repair is that *DDR-Dramatiker* is a compound whereas JS employs the identity formulation "I am from x." This formulation ties JS to the present time of speaking but evokes a country that does not exist any more, the GDR. In contrast, the compound *DDR-Dramatiker* in reference to Heiner Müller does not verbalize ties to the present. In addition, Heiner Müller, in contrast to JS, is not at the show. Thus, the formulation *DDR-Dramatiker* is an other-assignment for a person who cannot respond.

A second difference between JS's formulation *aus der DDR* and Heiner Müller's identity assignment is that JS's utterance can be understood, i.e. contextualized, as an "act of identity" indexing her sympathy with the GDR. In contrast, *DDR-Dramatiker* is introduced and repeated by speakers who have been introduced as western Germans where "acts of identity" are not possible with that phrase when their habitus has been defined as western German.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ The term *DDR* is used here in the formulating "identity origin" *ich bin aus* (I am from) discussed in more detailed in Chapter Three.

¹⁹¹ It may be an act of identity by a western German if contextualized as expressing sympathy with the GDR. This is the case in other examples where the move from the FRG to the GDR before 1989 is characterized as a move in an "unusual direction."

In her turn, JS initiates repair on *DDR* and rejects *DDR* in favor of *ehemalige DDR* (l. 16-17). The latter term is one among others that have been coined after unification. For JS, this repair indexes not simply a change in place names. It indexes an alteration in her habitus with a change of habitual identity formulation. In addition, by using the new place name, she also indexes that she lives in the present. She is not nostalgic about the GDR, an accusation made against eastern Germans at this time. JS's hand gesture of leaving the past behind indexes once more that she does not want to be seen as holding on to the past. Thus, she marks her repair clearly as a slip of the tongue and her gesture is also one of apology.

Her slip of the tongue is marked in the speech situation also because the solution is the term *ehemalige DDR* employed earlier by TH1 (l.3). Since TH1 employed this term, it might be considered by co-participants as the term that the talk show host prefers. JS's repair can thus be seen as accommodation to the talk show host as the representative of the TV corporation.¹⁹² While JS demonstrates awareness about her audience's and/or the talk show host's preferences, she rejects a habitual identity formulation in favor of one which is new, maybe awkward to her. Thus, the repair inconveniences JS who accommodates because *ehemalige DDR* as a new term has been introduced with unification and the talk show host employs this term with minor self-repair. The reaction by the western German audience (ll. 18 and 19) indexes empathy with the inconvenience for the eastern German speaker.

¹⁹² Notice again the overlap in the talk show's professional identity as the talk show host and his identity as western German. Thus, JS's repair accommodates the talk show host as the representative of the talk show genre as well as the representative of western Germany.

While the repair is clearly marked as a slip of the tongue, it is also a comment on the inconvenience of having to adjust to new norms. The speaker presents both competing terms—the old and dispreferred term rejected for the new and preferred term. Jefferson (1974) discusses cases where speakers abort dispreferred terms before they are uttered. Jefferson argues that, since the speakers project these upcoming terms through the preceding article, these repairs are intentional announcements of a dispreferred and non-habitual usage. I argue that JS's repair is similar to the repair Jefferson discusses; JS's repair is initiated on a dispreferred term. *DDR* may be considered dispreferred by the talk show host since he employed *ehemalige DDR* but also potentially dispreferred by an audience who would consider the speaker "nostalgic." The audience may understand JS's verbalizing *DDR* as a display of resistance to her new identity in the unified Germany and as an attempt to hold on to her GDR identity. JS's hand gesture becomes an important cue that indicates that JS does not hold on to a GDR identity but is willing to adjust to changes in place terms which affect, at the same time, changes in her personal identity. Thus, she positions herself in the unified Germany. The repair becomes socially meaningful as indexing a temporary attitude towards her past identity as citizen of the GDR, and therefore, an attitude to the present stage of unification.

6.3.2.3 *Self-repair with projected repairable*

Jefferson (1974) discusses segments in which speakers cut off a dispreferred word and instead utter words which are more appropriate in the given

context and preferred by the audience. In this section, I will discuss a similar instance of repair. Jefferson points out that the words that are cut off are projected by the articulation of the article preceding them. In the data segment from my corpus, the speaker projects a word by the kind of preposition preceding it. Jefferson argues that, through the projection, interlocutors can fill in the repairable. Thus, it is possible to recognize what the speaker intended to say but rejected in favor of another alternative.

Segment 6.13 is from a show aired on March 21, 1990. At the beginning, the talk show host formulates the topic as: "We want to ask tonight about reasons why people stay here, why they say: My home is my luck. But we also want to ask why people left." The speaker is an East German panel guest who stayed in East Germany and opened a business after the fall of the Wall.

Data segment 6.13:

Fragezeichen (DN 123), ZDF, March 21, 1990
place: Erfurt (East Germany)

TS... Talk show host (from Mainz, West Germany)

- 1 UP: das war scheinbar in dieser Zeit, (.) also Oktober
 this was presumable during that time, (.) in October
- 2 November dann eher sowieso schon so daß viele
 November then already the case that many (people) went
- 3 **nach-zur Bundesrepublik** gegangen sind (.) eh
 to- to the Federal Republic (.) uhm

The preposition *nach* (1.3) indicates that a word different from *Bundesrepublik* was projected but not articulated by the speaker. *Nach* projects a place formulation such as *nach drüben* (over there) or *nach Deutschland* (to Germany). These two options are most likely because they are semantically

similar to *zur Bundesrepublik*. *Nach* is used in German when the place name has no article. The repairable is cut off after the preposition *nach*-: *zur Bundesrepublik* contains the preposition *zur* instead of *nach*. *Zu* takes a place name with an article as complement (*zur* is a contraction of *zu+der*). The resultant alternative *zur Bundesrepublik*, however, is ungrammatical because the preposition should be *in* which would make the formulation *in die Bundesrepublik*. The fact that the speaker selects an ungrammatical place formulation as an alternative suggests that she is not accustomed to saying it. Instead, she might favor the repairable which she rejected, possibly in light of her audience.

No matter what the speaker actually intended to say, by starting out with *nach* and initiating repair, the speaker rejects this possible alternative in favor of *zur Bundesrepublik*. The alteration from the repairable to the alternative that replaces it is an alteration of the speech situation itself. How different hearers perceive this alteration depends on how they understand the function of the repair. In the following, I will discuss a few possible understandings of the repair and thus possible alterations of the speech situation. I am interested in the question of what distinguishes *zur Bundesrepublik* from other possible solutions.

If *nach* projects the repairable *nach drüben*, the repair may be heard as an adjustment from a more colloquial register to a more formal register of speech. As a term used in political speech on television, this term may be considered by the speaker to be more appropriate for the television context. While this is an alteration of the formality of the speech situation, the repair involving a projected *nach drüben* and the alternative *zur Bundesrepublik* also indexes an alteration of

the speaker's identity in relation to other groups participating in the speech event. The speaker is talking to a West German audience and describes the move of East Germans to West Germany. *Nach drüben* adopts the East German voice and it projects an "other" because somebody must be "here" in order to have a "there." If she used *nach drüben* in the present setting, the speaker would align herself with East Germans exposing West Germans, among them the talk show host, as the others. The term *Bundesrepublik*, however, does not position the speaker in the East German space. Instead, it positions the speaker in the West German space because it is the political term that had been used in West Germany while East Germany used *BRD* in reference to the FRG.

As a second possibility in addition to *nach drüben*, *nach* can be heard as projecting *nach Deutschland*. At the time of speaking in March 1990, the place term *Deutschland* was full of ambiguities; it was used in reference to a possible unified Germany that might exist in the future as well as past social spaces, including West Germany before 1989. Considering this ambiguity, the repair with the alternative *Bundesrepublik* makes the reference more specific. *Deutschland* was also the term GDR citizens sometimes used to refer to the FRG. If, as I argue, the repairable is the habitual term, the repair represents an adjustment towards using West German terminology in selecting *Bundesrepublik*. In that case, repair indexes a change of the speaker's habitual usage. The stance displayed in this segment is then a positioning of the speaker away from whatever else she wanted to say towards the West German norm in language use.

It is worth reflecting on the fact that this data segment, as well as all the others in this dissertation, is from TV broadcast, and on the impact of such

segments for language change. The East German speaker in segment 6.13 initiates repair and selects *Bundesrepublik*, the word which demonstrates West German usage. The speaker adjusts towards West German norms in the speech situation: the intersection between the talk show host as the authority and as West German at the same time encourages the direction of this adjustment. While this adjustment is a matter of the speech situation, it may, in fact, be part of the larger process of language change, a change from eastern German to western German usage. The speaker may be demonstrating a change in progress, whereby eastern Germans begin to select western German alternatives over historically eastern German alternatives.

6.3.2.4 *Self-repairs as camouflage*

Jefferson (1974) argues that repair can be employed to disguise intentional announcements about relationships between social groups. Analyzing court-room interaction, Jefferson argues that speakers are aware of recipients' preferences of alternative words and phrases. In Jefferson's examples, the repairable "cop" is favored by the speakers but is inappropriate in the speech situation. Speakers correct it to "policeman," which is considered to be the addressee's preference.

The repairable in Jefferson's analysis is offensive, disrespectful, and constitutes relationships negatively. Repair can change these relationships, while the absence of repair could be considered rude. If speakers initiate repair and select the preferred alternative instead, the speakers demonstrate responsibility for

improving the relationships between interlocutors. The same can be argued for data segment 6.13 also.

Jefferson further argues that, if the repairable is articulated or projected so that it can be “filled in” by interlocutors, it becomes part of the meaning of the utterance. Thus, speakers can employ the repair mechanism to disguise as repair what are, in fact, intentional announcements. In such cases, repair displays speakers’ attitudes concerning social spaces that are denoted by terms as parts of repair. Some of the previously discussed data segments may exemplify this.¹⁹³ for example, 6.6, 6.7, 6.8, 6.9, 6.11.

I want to discuss the following data segment 6.14 as one further possible intentional announcement. The segment is from a talk show which aired in January 1994 and was produced in Dresden. The two different place names in the repair both denote eastern Germany; the speaker’s selection does not have an impact on the deictic aspect of the terms. The repair, in conjunction with a meaningful gesture as part of the repair, becomes a social comment, especially as the speaker is eastern German.

Data segment 6.14:

Talk show “MDR-club,” produced by MDR, January 21, 1994

Place: Dresden (eastern Germany)

VF... Veronika Fischer (eastern German singer)

- 1 VF: das ist aber in in in Deutschland nicht zu empfinden
 but that can’ t be felt in in in Germany
- 2 das das so ist. ich würde sagen die Altbundesländer
 that it’ s like that. I would say [in] the old Federal

¹⁹³ It is methodologically difficult to determine exactly which repair instances are slips of the tongue and which ones are intentional announcements.

- 3 da ist schon ne Sättigung aufgetreten durch die
States a saturation has already crept in
- 4 Wiedervereinigung speziell in Berlin natürlich also
through unification especially in Berlin of course
- 5 ich kann also von Sättigkeit nicht reden ich spiele sehr
- well - I cannot talk about saturation I play very
- VF rolling her eyes up
*----->
- 6 viel in den **neuen Bundesländern - ehemalige DDR**
often in the **new Federal States - former GDR**

Before I focus on the speaker's gestural activities, I will comment on the repair *neuen Bundesländern- ehemalige DDR* itself. With the repair, the speaker does not correct or change the reference. She presents two place names adjacent in talk that both have the present eastern Germany as referent and are both equally "correct." Both terms have been available as linguistic resources only since the fall of the Wall. VF, as an eastern German, would have used neither of the terms habitually in reference to eastern Germany before the fall of the Wall. Consequently, the repair becomes an announcement about a change in her habitus as compared to that before 1989/1990.¹⁹⁴ In providing two terms, the speaker also indexes uncertainty about the audience's preference of the appropriate place term. As part of the repair, the speaker makes a hand gesture commonly used with a word search. The gesture indicates that there are other terms that might be equally possible to substitute for the place names the speaker suggests. The repair becomes especially meaningful since VF is the first speaker on the show to use a term for eastern Germany.

¹⁹⁴ Notice that this would be different for western German speakers because their emotional closeness to these terms is different.

By articulating two different place names in the repair, the speaker recognizes them as available terms; where the solution could indicate accommodation as in data segment 6.13. However, VF downplays this possible accommodation through extra-linguistic activities, most notably her eye-rolling while she says *ehemalige DDR*. This gesture announces that the speaker herself finds the term somehow problematic as a proper place name for eastern Germany. This place name, it can be argued, is an “authoritative utterance” (Hanks 1986), which “can be turned onto its head by simple tropes like irony, parody, or slight shifts in wording” (274). The speaker’s eye-rolling can be included in this list as one of these tropes. Gestures comment more subtly than verbal activities because they are less “on-record.” The eye-rolling could be a subtle comment on the awkwardness of using this terminology, which denotes her original place of living in a new way. Minutes later on the same show, the same speaker comments again on such terminology:

Data segment 6.15:

MDR-club, MDR, January 21, 1994
place: Dresden (eastern Germany)

VF... Veronika Fischer (eastern German singer)

VF rolling her eyes upwards

----->

33 VF: eh in den **neuen Bundesländern** (.) (**negllut**) da ist es
uhm in the **new Federal States** (.) (**negllut**) there it

34 einfach mal so dass die Leute
is just so PRT that the people

With the term *neuen Bundesländern*, the speaker performs a gesture: again she rolls her eyes. Her gesture could suggest distancing in similar ways as the

gesture of doing “inverted commas” is used to index distance. The term *neuen Bundesländern* is the repairable corrected to *negllut*, which is not a possible word in German. With this word, the speaker creates a disfluency that marks the previous term as difficult to articulate. The word is the replacing item of the repair; it is that which is usually understood as the “correct” term or the term which is preferred by the audience. In the segment under discussion, however, the speaker does not provide a meaningful term for the repairable *neue Bundesländer*, but instead the word substitute *negllut*. This word substitute does not resolve the repair. It suggests that *neue Bundesländer* can be substituted for by a word of the interlocutors’ preference. The speaker’s repair becomes a device for being suggestive, instead of one for positioning herself through her selection of a specific alternative. As in segment 6.14, the repair mechanism is not used for correction. It displays the speaker’s attitude about terms and/or social spaces associated with terms together with an announcement of a change of the speaker’s identity.

The repairs in the two previous data segments are word searches; they are forward-looking repairs. In such repairs, the speech flow is interrupted because some word is not readily available to the speaker. Under these auspices, the speaker’s gesture in the first segment 6.14 represents a gesture of helplessness in trying to find the “right” word. In the second segment 6.15, the word substitute itself could be a sign that the speaker has given up searching for the “right” word and now leaves the search to the interlocutors. The discussion has revealed, however, that the word searches become meaningful in other ways if identities of speakers and settings are considered important contextualization cues.

The next data segment 6.15 also contains word searches that address questions other than the search for terms. In this sense, repair is a camouflage for negotiating social spaces and addressing relationships between social groups. The segment is from the same MDR talk show as the previous two segments. This time, the speaker is a singer who was born and raised in western Germany and lives in France at the moment of speaking.

Data segment 6.16:

MDR-club, MDR, January 21, 1994

place: Dresden (eastern Germany)

IC... Ingrid Caven (singer, lives in France, lived in western Germany)

B... speaker off camera (talk guest or talk show host)

- 1 IC: ich finde es nicht gut wenn wir sagen wir - die die
I don't think it's good when we say that the the
- 2 die Nachkommen der Nazi Zeit
the children of the Nazi era are
- 3 sind nun unbedingt vergleichbar mit mit mit hier
necessarily comparable to to to - here
- 4 jetzt eh Leute aus dem ehemaligen -
- now- people from the former - from the
- 5 aus der ehemaligen- wie sagt man denn jetzt hier
former- how do you say that here now
- 6 den neuen Bundesländern das - ich finde
the new Federal States that - I think
- 7 das ist nich dasselbe das sollte man schön
that this is not the same - you should really
- 8 auseinanderhalten ich finde auch wenn im Westen
keep them separate - I think even though in the West
- 9 da jetzt so drauf gepocht - im ehemaligen Westen
people now insist - in the former West
- 10 jetzt so drauf gepocht Westen - is es immer noch
people now insist - West - is it still

- 11 **Westen?**
 West?
- 12 B: also Himmelsrichtung ist geblieben
 well cardinal directions have stayed the same

In segment 6.16, the speaker initiates repair twice. The first repairable is the incomplete repairable *Leute aus dem ehemaligen-* (1.5) and the second one is *im Westen* (1.8). Both times, repair is initiated and attempted more than once. After the second repair, the speaker finally aborts her turn and leaves it up to all interlocutors to resolve the repair with her question *ist es immer noch Westen?*

In the first repair, the trouble occurs when the speaker formulates the people in eastern Germany using a place name. After the incomplete repairable *der ehemaligen*, the speaker produces some metacommentary that indexes a word search *wie sagt man denn jetzt hier* (1.5).¹⁹⁵ The speaker travelled from France to Germany and indicates through the repair that she is not familiar with the terminology of the unified Germany. Through this question, the speaker asserts that there must be a “right” term and that she is looking for it. She performs a hand gesture that supports her word search; she indicates that she is looking for the “right” term. The hand gesture also invites others to suggest the word: the speaker opens the floor to everybody. However, no one suggests a word. This could have to do with the fact that there are several terms to choose from and not just one that can be considered correct. Another explanation suggests itself

¹⁹⁵ It can be argued that the deictic *hier* (here) in the segment is contextualized through the identity of the speaker as referring to unified Germany and not just eastern Germany as the place of speaking as in other segments. If IC had still lived in western Germany, the deictic *hier* could be in reference to the place of speaking, eastern Germany.

considering the setting of the show. The studio audience consists almost exclusively of eastern Germans and half the panel guests are eastern, and the other half are western Germans (including the speaker who lives in Paris). Since most of the audience is eastern German, the speaker's invitation to suggest a term indexes a polite request to find the term used locally; to find the one preferred by eastern Germans. Any suggestion from eastern Germans themselves, however, could position an eastern German either as nostalgic (by suggesting *DDR*) or with a "converted identity" (by suggesting *neue Bundesländer* etc.). Any suggestion from a western German could be taken as dictating the norms of a unified Germany. Thus, the term that other discussion participants suggest, could position the speaker in relation to the social spaces which are projected by the terms; it would be an act of identity and project an image of the speakers' perception of the world. The term that IC finally chooses, *neue Bundesländer*, is the one that had been used earlier in the show by the singer from eastern Germany, thus IC resorts to co-selection.

The second repair in this segment concerns the term for western Germany. First, the speaker performs embedded repair on *im Westen* and suggests *im ehemaligen Westen*. Then she initiates repair again and aborts her turn: she displays insecurity about the use of the term by adding a question addressed to all participants on the panel: *Westen - ist es immer noch Westen?* The speaker makes her word choice open for negotiation by giving up her turn and gazing at other interlocutors. Repair and metacommentary on the place reference for "western Germany" basically result in the break down of the speaker's whole turn. The

speaker makes the selection of place names the topic of the conversation in that she is willing to abort her turn and open the floor to other speakers.

This shift in topic focus has the effect that the speaker cannot carry through her disagreement started in line 1: *ich finde es nicht gut*. in which she agrees with a speaker who earlier compared Germans after 1945 with eastern Germans after 1989. At the time of speaking, this comparison was controversial because it compared the GDR with Hitler's state and made eastern Germans into Hitler followers. In resorting to the repair of terms, the speaker aborts the further discussion on this issue. At the same time, the speaker encounters difficulties with the terms as well because they are equally controversial. for example the renaming of eastern Germany which did not always render a parallel in western Germany (e.g. *ehemalige DDR* but not *ehemaliger Westen*, but *neue Bundesländer* and *alte Bundesländer*). Taking into account the setting again, it seems that the speaker's criticism accommodates the eastern German audience because in her negotiation of place terms, she says something that might be heard favorably by eastern Germans, namely that western Germany has coopted eastern Germany (which is indexed by western Germany keeping its place name).

The audience and the panel guests react with laughter and quiet talk (which is unintelligible). One woman on the panel is heard off-camera saying: *also Himmelsrichtung is geblieben* (l. 12). Taking the social context at the time as contextualization cue, this answer implies: that everything else has changed. It is also to say that, at some future time, *Osten* und *Westen* will likely become understood as cardinal directions again; they will lose their meaning to refer to the social spaces eastern and western Germany.

I will now make some observations about the repair, taking into account the speaker's identity. The repair is an exposed self-repair because it makes repairing the terminology the interactional business but by doing so, it raises social questions. Also, as I argued earlier, other speakers cannot join in the repair as easily. They cannot provide an alternative in the word search, because of their identities and roles on the show. The speaker, who is a western German native who has lived in France for several years, is accorded some outsider status as compared to others on the show. She lives abroad and might claim an identity that is no longer western German. Since she has been away from Germany during the changes, and also during the introduction of new terminology, her repair can always be proclaimed as repair for a lack of knowledge about the current use of terms in Germany. The social question she raises about the relationships between eastern and western Germany are camouflaged by employing the repair mechanism that appears to be an understanding check.

The speaker's question *Westen - ist es immer noch Westen* is particularly interesting in light of her identity as somebody who now lives geographically further west, in France. From her perspective, the unified Germany in 1994 is located geographically in the east, western Germany included. Thus, while her question may address problems in the use of terminology, it also addresses questions concerning the east-west split of the European continent. For forty years, eastern and western Germany have straddled a major dividing line, geographically and socially. The speaker also addresses, therefore, if eastern and western Europe will come to be conceptualized differently in the future.

In all the segments discussed in this section, the speech mechanism of repair is used to make something else than correction the interactional focus, namely the changes in social spaces. The repair functions as a camouflage to address these questions. The speaker pretends lack of knowledge, i.e. not finding the right word, but in fact, raises social questions.

6.4 DEICTICS

In Chapters Four and Five, I discussed the use of a specific set of linguistic inventory. This specific set has traditionally been called deictics, which are interpreted with reference to the setting, including the identities of speakers. Such deictics include pronouns, spatial adverbs, motion verbs and others (see Chapters Four and Five for a more detailed treatment of deictics). In the following sections 6.4.1 and 6.4.2, I discuss data segments where deictics are part of repairs. I argue that repairs reveal how different deictics formulate interlocutors' identities and that deictics are a resource for speakers to negotiate relationships between social spaces.

6.4.1 Repairing heteroglossia

In the section on heteroglossia (Chapter Four), I discussed the potential ambiguity of deictic place formulations like *dieses land* (this country) within shifting hermeneutic frames. Ambiguity (i.e. heteroglossia) does not necessarily trigger repair; repair was not initiated in the segment discussed there. Rather, repair might be triggered by certain contexts, by social contexts and settings. The

segment discussed in the following section also contains deictic elements subject to heteroglossia. In this segment, however, the speaker repairs these elements. Based on data analysis I suggest that those contexts are such that competing notions between groups are made relevant and anxieties are fostered.

In all segments in this section, the repairables are the deictic pronouns *unser* (our). As noted in Chapter Four, in German, as in English, there is no grammatical feature which shows if the pronoun is used inclusively (including the addressee) or exclusively (excluding the addressee). Through the repair in this section, the speaker indicates a need to specify inclusiveness and exclusiveness. The repair is a specification, i.e. the repairable is more ambiguous than the replacing item. The double voicing also results from the date of the talk show (1994) where *unser*, in relation to political spaces, could refer to a unified Germany as well as to social spaces associated with the identities of the speakers (eastern or western German).

The segment I will discuss first is from an MDR talk show aired on January 21, 1994 that takes place in Dresden (eastern Germany). The speaker is a singer from eastern Germany. The repair in brief is as follows:

Data segment 6.17.a:

Die Riverboat Talkshow, MDR, January 21, 1994

place: Dresden (eastern Germany)

VF... Veronika Fischer (eastern German singer)

- 34 VF: durch ~~unsere~~
because of our
- 35 **Tradition-** durch die **Tradition der Musiker die d-aus**
tradition- because of the tradition of musicians who
- 36 **der damaligen DDR kamen**
came from the former GDR

In the data segment above, the repair as such reflects a need demonstrated by the speaker to make *unsere*, in *unsere Tradition*, less ambiguous. The speaker cuts off her speech after *unsere Tradition* and reformulates the deictic to *die Tradition der Musiker die d-aus der damaligen*¹⁹⁶ *DDR kamen*.

In the following, I want to compare what the repairable (*unsere Tradition*) and the reformulation (*die Tradition der Musiker die d-aus der damaligen DDR kamen*) do in the interaction and, ultimately, what the repair accomplishes. First, the pronoun *unser* positions the speaker within a group while the reformulation without the pronoun does not make the speaker part of the group: it makes the speaker a potential outsider of the group she formulates. The repair has consequences for formulating the relationships between speaker and audience in different ways. While the pronoun *unser* can potentially exclude other addressees who are from a different group, the formulation without the pronoun aligns the speaker and addressees as the receivers of information from an “outside voice.” In relation to this outside voice, speaker and addressee are positioned within the same social space.

In contrast, the speaker employing *unser* potentially creates different spaces for co-present parties if the “other,” *euer* (your) as the counterpart to *unser*, can be identified among these parties. The reformulation gives some evidence of the group that the speaker meant to identify by *unser*. This group

¹⁹⁶ Both *damalige DDR* and *ehemalige DDR* refer to the former GDR. It seems that speakers, especially politicians, employed *ehemalige DDR* more frequently than *damalige DDR*. Also, the adjectives differ slightly in their lexical meanings; *damalige* has the components (+former, +formerly existing or prevailing), whereas *ehemalige* only has the component (+former).

combines two identities; one is a professional identity (musicians) and the other one is a national identity (from the former GDR). The speaker's personal identity combines these two identities. Therefore, it would be legitimate for her to use *unser* in reference to this group of people; the repairable is not an error which VF needs to correct. Since the repair does not seem to be correcting an error. I will discuss now other possible functions of the repair. In suggesting an explanation for the repair, I will discuss features of the repair's linguistic surrounding and contextual setting.

Following now is a longer segment that contains the same repair.

Data segment 6.17.b:

Die Riverboat Talkshow, MDR, January 21, 1994

place: Dresden (eastern Germany)

VF Veronika Fischer (singer from former GDR)

- 30 VF: ja also ich muß sagen zu ungunsten der
yes well I must say to the **old Federal Republic's**
- 31 **Altbundesrepublik** dort eh **wurde** einfach eh nen bißchen
disadvantage there uhm **was/had been** required PRT uhm a
- 32 mehr flachere Musik verlangt >das heißt zumindest was
little more of a superficial music >that is at least
- 33 die Texte angeht.<
as far as the texts are concerned.<
- gaze, looking up**
----->
- 34 eh in den **neuen Bundesländern** (.) [negllut] da **ist** es
uhm in the **new Federal States** (.) [....] there it is
- 35 einfach mal so dass **die Leute** doch ehm durch **unsere**
(for a fact) that **the people** there uhm because of our
- 36 **Tradition-** durch die **Tradition der Musiker die d-aus**
tradition because of the tradition of musicians who
- 37 **der damaligen DDR kamen** eh etwas mehr an die

came from the former GDR uhm (the people) were/ had
 38 **deutsche Musik- deutschsprachige Musik** herangeführt
 been introduced more to the **German music- German**
 39 wurden
speaking music

The speaker sets up a comparison between *Altbundesrepublik* (l.31) and *neuen Bundesländern* (l.33), where the first is narrated in the past (*wurde*, l.31), while the second is narrated in the present (*ist*, l.33). Before I discuss the effect of the repair, I will mention a related observation about the relation of tense to place names.

The different tenses used in this segment correspond to the place names themselves in interesting ways. *Neue Bundesländer* and *alte Bundesländer* are “present-time” place names created after unification to distinguish eastern Germany and western Germany after unification. The term *Bundesländer* had been used to refer to the administrative units within the FRG, while *Bezirke* was used as a parallel term in the GDR to denote its administrative units. While the adjective *alte* combines with *Bundesländer* to denote western Germany, *neue* denotes the states that were added after unification, eastern Germany. Instead of *alte Bundesländer*, however, the speaker uses the term *Altbundesrepublik* with the past tense, which makes West Germany before unification the referent for the place name, the *Bundesrepublik*, which itself “has a past.” *Neue Bundesländer*, however, is a new term with hardly any ties to the past, at the most the four years

since unification. Interestingly, the speaker uses present tense just after this place name while she continues her narration in past tense (*wurden*, l. 37).¹⁹⁷

I now focus again on the repair itself. The repairable *unsere Tradition* is contextualized by preceding talk and by the setting, both of which I will discuss now. In the preceding talk (ll. 30-33), the speaker has set up the contrast between eastern and western Germany in regard to music. The repair occurs in the sentence that starts out with *neue Bundesländer*, which makes the speaker's identity as eastern German relevant. Following is *die Leute* (contextualized now as the people in the GDR, l. 34) followed by *unsere*. Thus, meaning is shaped while the speaker builds the sentence (cf. Goodwin 1979). Consequently, *unser* is contextualized as eastern German. Here, the speaker cuts off and reformulates. The use of the present tense shortly before the cut-off is crucial as well because the eastern German identity at this point is formulated as present. At the time of speaking in 1994, however, Germany had been unified for four years. *Unser* in the utterance associates present as well as past social spaces.

The setting adds another component of meaning to the use of the deictic pronoun because the panel guests on any MDR talk show are to equal numbers people from eastern and western Germany, and so are the talk show hosts. If the studio and TV audience was only eastern Germans (as before 1989),¹⁹⁸ *unser* would not be problematic in the same way. It could still be ambiguous and refer to any of the speaker's competing identities; *unser* would not expose some of the

¹⁹⁷ In fact, *neue Bundesländer* and *waren* (past tense) might be considered an oxymoron.

¹⁹⁸ In Chapter Two, I argued that the fall of the Wall changed the audience structure for both East German and West German TV. Even though East Germans could receive and watch West German TV and vice versa, these audiences' presence became accountable for only after November 1989.

audience as members of the “other” in the same way as this happens on the talk show in 1994.

In addition, western Germans not only emerge as the “other” to the *unser*- but the speaker criticizes the FRG regarding its music; the speaker portrays the GDR positively and the FRG negatively. Since the speaker is herself from the GDR, her critique may seem prejudiced since the own group, which is portrayed as positive, is also emotionally closer to the speaker. The pronoun *unser* naturally expresses a proximal closeness which may be interpreted as an emotional closeness. In reformulating without the pronoun, the speaker corrects this expressed closeness to an outsider’s voice which presumably lets her argument appear in a more “objective” or “neutral” way.

In summary, the repair is an index that “membership analysis” (Schegloff 1974) as discussed in section 3.2 indeed plays a role for speakers. Schegloff argues that participants in an interaction analyze their own and other’s memberships (i.e. their identities) and adjust their speech accordingly, especially in the selection of words. The pronoun *unser* indexes the speaker’s possible memberships, among others her eastern German identity. If the western German audience performs membership analysis, they could consider her eastern German. For a western German audience, the pronominal phrase *unsere Tradition* could sound like it came from a nostalgic speaker, from some eastern German who stresses eastern German group identity as distinct from western German identity.

In fact, the effect of double-voicing results from speakers’ doing membership analysis. The speaker potentially has ties to eastern Germany as her

community of origin, whereas at the time of speaking, in 1994, she is also a member of the unified Germany.

I will turn briefly to the last repair in segment 6.17 involving the repairable *deutsch* (l.36). The following is an excerpt from segment 6.17.b:

Data segment 6.17.c:

- 36 VF: etwas mehr an die deutsche Musik- deutschsprachige
(the people) were/ had been introduced more to the
37 Musik herangeführt wurden
German music- German speaking music

Earlier, I discussed repairs with *deutsch* as the trouble source. As I argued based on data segments, *deutsch* became problematic as soon as the fall of the Wall because it was used to denote the FRG during the years of division and could after the fall of the Wall be contested as including East Germany also.

In the present data segment, the speaker initiates repair on *deutsche Musik* and corrects it to *deutschsprachige Musik*. She first specifies the music in terms of the national/cultural category *deutsch*, and corrects to describe the music in terms of its language, *deutschsprachige*. To characterize music in terms of its language is itself odd, in German as in English. The adjective *deutschsprachig* avoids, however, the allusion to a national category like *deutsch*.

Deutsch is marked as problematic in the segment where it clearly does not denote the cultural context of the FRG nor that of the unified Germany at the time of speaking. It is contextualized through the preceding talk (see full segment above) as the music that eastern Germans traditionally have listened to. While *deutsche Musik* can be understood as referring to music in western Germany only.

deutschsprachige Musik, in reference to any kind of music sung in German. includes eastern German music also. Thus, the speaker who is an eastern German musician can clearly claim that she does *deutschsprachige Musik* but she may not be able to claim that she does *deutsche* music if *deutsche* is interpreted as a western German attribute. The repair functions to reformulate her own identity without enunciating a claim to be considered western German.

6.4.2 Pronouns vs. spatial adverbs: avoiding group identities

In this section, I will discuss, first, the relationship between the selections of person and place classifications and the addressees' identities. Second, I will argue that place adverbs, in contrast to pronouns, avoid assignments of personal memberships to interlocutors, even though both place adverbs and pronouns potentially formulate social spaces (see Chapter Four).

The following segment contains a repair that involves the deictic prepositional phrase *bei Ihnen* (with you, i.e. where you are) and the local adverb *drüben* (over there). In brief, the repair is as follows:

Data segment 6.19.a

Nachtkafe (DN 111), September 23, 1989

place: Ludwigsburg (FRG)

TS... Talk show host

A ... Addressee (Gisela Kraft, had moved from the FRG to the GDR in 1984)

TS: 2 bei Ihnen ... = ah drüben
 where you are...= uhm over there

In this repair, a phrase that involves reference to groups is the repairable (*bei Ihnen*), whereas the replacing item is a place adverb (*drüben*). I argue that the direction of this repair from a repairable with group reference to a substitute with place reference coincides with the specific group identities of speaker and addressee and with the context of talk, that is one of anxiety where competing groups emerge.

The data segment is from a talk show which aired on September 23, 1989, before the fall of the Wall. The speaker is the talk show host, a person from the FRG. He addresses a woman¹⁹⁹ who had moved from West Berlin to East Berlin in 1984, a move which the talk show host, in introducing her earlier on the show, describes as being in an unusual direction (*ungewöhnliche Richtung*). The prototypical direction, based on the larger number of people but also the more intensive media focus at that time, was the move of people from the GDR to the FRG (including from East to West Berlin). Most likely, this prototypical move gave rise to describing the opposite move, that of a person who moved from the FRG to the GDR (including from West to East Berlin) as unusual.

In previous sections (Chapters Three and Four), I have demonstrated that people undertake additional efforts in communication when they are not easily classifiable in terms of their group identities. In the example under discussion, this is also the case. The speaker is faced with the following questions, derived from two competing notions surrounding the addressee's personal identity: 1) should the addressee be considered an FRG citizen and therefore be in co-

¹⁹⁹ The speaker turns his upper body towards GK, the addressee and establishes eye gaze with her. These two features have been seen as mechanisms for next speaker selection (Goodwin 1979).

membership with the speaker, or 2) does the addressee belong to the group of GDR citizens now that she has lived in the GDR for five years and has made this her chosen place to live. In order to discuss how the repair indexes these competing notions, I will present the repair in its linguistic context. The talk show's subtitle is "Happy in the West?" and mainly focuses on people who had left the GDR to settle in the FRG and people who lived in the GDR. The addressee in the data segment is the one panel guest who had moved from the FRG to the GDR. The discussion preceding the data focuses on the people who came to the FRG. The place formulation *unser land* (our country) in line 1 refers to the FRG, the talk show host's country.

Data segment 6.19:

Nachtsafe (DN 111), September 23, 1989
place: Ludwigsburg (FRG)

TS... Talk show host

GK ... Gisela Kraft (had moved from the FRG to the GDR in 1984)

- 1 TS: aber **unser Land** wird irgendwie immer voller. (.)
 but **our country** is getting more and more crowded. (.)
- 2 spürt man das **bei ihnen** eigentlich= **ah drüben**
 is it noticable **where you are**= [better to say] **over**
- 3 dass das Land immer leerer wird (.) dass sich
 there that the country is getting emptier (.) that
- 4 Leerstellen da und dort (.) finden?
 there are empty places here and there?

Unser Land, addressing GK, establishes possible co-membership between her and the talk show host, therefore indexing GK's identity as FRG citizen who happens to live abroad. This use of *unser* would be inclusive; it would include the

addressee. At the same time, *unser Land* could refer to the speaker's country, excluding the addressee, thus constructing her identity as GDR citizen. While *unser* can be heard as either inclusive or exclusive, with the selection *bei Ihnen* (1.2), the speaker assigns GK to the other group; he excludes her from the people in the FRG. This identity assignment for the addressee could be contested because she had lived most of her life in the FRG and, though she left the FRG in 1984, she could still see herself as a citizen of the FRG.

The speaker then initiates repair on *bei Ihnen* and selects *drüben* (1.2) instead. The spatial adverb *drüben* denotes the place GDR without formulating a group identity for GK directly. While the pronouns *unser* and *bei Ihnen* include or exclude group identities, the spatial adverb *drüben* formulates the country without direct reference to interlocutors' identities. Since the speaker is locally positioned in the FRG, selecting *drüben* seems to be the natural selection (cf. here vs. there). However, in Chapter Four I demonstrated how the selection of German place adverbs to denote cultural spaces formulates an eastern or a western identity. Following this discussion, I argue that *drüben* adopts a western German voice; it formulates the GDR as the other place in relation to the FRG. Thus, *drüben* positions the talk show host, as well as GK, in the FRG; it anchors them to the geographic setting at the time of speaking.²⁰⁰ At the same time, it leaves GK a choice. If she wants to hear this selection as including herself socially as well, she can count herself among the group of FRG citizens.

²⁰⁰ But compare section 5.2. for *drüben* as indexing identity if used when the place of the talk show is not western Germany.

I was trying to show with the previous discussion that the selection of place adverbs instead of pronouns avoids assigning addressees personal identities. However, using place adverbs in this way only works if the geographic setting at the time of speaking corresponds with the “voice” indexed by place adverbs such as *drüben*.

6.4.3 Spatial adverbs vs. pronouns: Challenging the speaker

My discussion on segment 6.20 focuses once more on the selection of pronouns as opposed to spatial adverbs. The segment contains an other-initiated repair in which the repairable is a place adverb. The second speaker challenges the first speaker on the use of a place adverb that disguises relationships between social groups because it is ambiguous about these relationships. In this segment, I will discuss selections of pronouns and adverbs in relation to the motion verb *ankommen* (to arrive). (See also Chapter Five for discussion of motion verbs.)

Segment 6.20 is drawn from a talk show aired on August 25, 1995 by N3, a western German TV station. Speakers are Huber from western Germany and Grunert from eastern Germany. Through their selection of place formulations, the speakers project different groups and relationships between these groups in the social space at the time of speaking, 1995. In this segment, the speakers formulate unification as an arrival; the verb *ankommen* formulates a metaphorical arrival of people in the unified Germany referred to as *hier* (here) by the first speaker in the segment. The speaker makes it a precondition for this arrival to dissolve the *PDS*, the *Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus* (Party of

Democratic Socialism), the legal successor of the *SED*, the ruling communist party in the GDR. I focus on the way that speakers denote these political social spaces through the deictic-locative adverb *hier* as opposed to a formulation with a pronoun *bei uns* (here where we are).

Data segment 6.20:

III nach 9, N3, August 25, 1995

Hub... Ellis Huber, president of the Ärztekammer Berlin (Berlin medical board)
Grun... Horst Grunert, former Ambassador from the GDR

- 1 Hub: dann löst doch endlich die PDS auf und **kommt hier an**
well then dissolve the PDS and **come here**
- 2 Grun: **zu Ihnen** meinen Sie?
to you you mean?
- 3 Hub: **nein zu- in dieses Land**
no to- to this country
- 4 Grun: oh
oh
- 5 Hub: diese Nostalgie die Sie mittragen die hilft ja nicht
this nostalgia which you carry does not get us
- 6 weiter
anywhere

The verb *ankommen* again frames a move of people. The people do not, however, arrive at a physical location but arrive at the German national identity. Since Huber makes dissolving the PDS a prerequisite for this arrival, a shift from eastern identification and getting rid of eastern German nostalgia (1.5) is required before “entering” *hier*, before entering the German national identity. *Hier*, though a deictic-locative adverb, refers to the social space at the time of speaking and a group of people who are *hier* already, including the speaker from western Germany. While the locative adverb *hier* does not explicitly state the

relationships between groups in the social space, Grunert in his question. makes them explicit by using personal pronouns: *zu ihnen meinen sie* ([come] to you you mean), identifying Huber as being part of that group which is already *hier*.

In his answer (1.3), Huber starts out with *zu-*, projecting the personal pronoun *uns*, but then resorts to a place formulation: *in dieses land*. As with *hier*, Huber thus manages to avoid the hierarchical implications of “we” vs. “you.” where “you” (the PDS as a possible metaphor for anything eastern German) has not arrived yet at the present location, while “we” are already part of this new national identity. “We” could be heard as implying the social space of western Germany, the speaker’s original community.

In this last segment the social space, as the referent for *hier*, is conceptualized as an arrival point. The speaker, Huber, claims that he and the group that he makes himself part of have arrived, while the addressee, Grunert, and, by implication, his group have not arrived yet. Other-initiated repair becomes a mechanism to negotiate the relationship between groups by using the speaker’s *habitus* as a contextualization cue. The *habitus*, the intersection between social structure and personal identity, potentially make Huber and Grunert members of different social and political groups. In the repair, Grunert’s *bei Ihnen* alludes to Huber’s membership in a different group (be it western German or a different party). It relies on the participants to have a shared knowledge about that membership.

The segment exemplifies that repair is an important mechanism to negotiate relationships of competing social groups. Furthermore, in this segment, the arrival metaphor for identity negotiation is once more present. In the last

chapter of this dissertation, I will summarize the presence of this metaphor in formulations of personal and national identity.

6.5 CONCLUSION

While repair is a common speech mechanism, it indexes specific difficulties German speakers encounter. The difficulties have been evident in other chapters of this dissertation and can briefly be summarized. In formulating their identities, interlocutors are forced to choose from alternative place terms, person categories and time expressions. The selection of an alternative can project a view of the world if the speech community has shared knowledge about meanings of words. These meanings are not referential but connotational. The speech community has a shared knowledge that words index certain social and political positions/stances (including eastern and western voices). Speakers selecting a word associated with a particular genre may be heard as speaking with a voice representing a specific perspective and indexing a certain position/stance.

The difficulties which are evident from the segments in this chapter arise, in part, from habitual ways of formulating identities. With the fall of the Wall, these habitual ways which were based on a particular shared knowledge of one community, ceased to exist. Competing notions of “Germanness” have necessitated a competition between linguistic alternatives. These competing notions also have the effect that formerly habitual ways of formulating identities come to index a position or stance; *ich komme aus der DDR* (I come from the GDR) comes to mean “nostalgia;” *Deutschland* (Germany) comes to mean a

future Germany bearing the associations of a unified World War Two “Germanness.”

Repair indexes these difficulties; at the same time, it fulfills certain functions for speakers to cope with these difficulties. Repair becomes a resource for tweaking identities and relationships. In the utterance, speakers adjust their views of the world while at the same time adjusting their own identities. In fact, speakers can employ the repair mechanism, i.e. pretend problems in hearing, speaking or understanding, to camouflage the difficulty with their concept of ‘Germanness.’ Repair is also a resource for attempts to defer positioning. Speakers provide several alternatives instead of choosing only one; this does not tie them to one position. The data evidence other ways that speakers try non-positioning: by suggesting nonsense words where an identity formulation is expected, by referring ambiguously to a time span instead of a national identity, and by employing a locational adverb instead of a personal pronoun. These strategies, however, are always read as attempts to non-positioning because these formulations (or non-formulations) are recognized as alternatives among different choices. If the alternative is a substitute for a word, as with the nonsense word, the implication is that the speaker rejected the alternative.

Since the data is from conversations on public television, audience as well as TV station programs can be considered triggering factors for linguistic choices and for repairs. When speakers measure their own position against an assumed position of their audience(s), they can choose to initiate repair in order to align themselves with the audience(s) or set themselves apart from it. This aligning and disaligning may also occur involuntarily, without the conscious effort of speakers.

An analysis of the utterance provides access to competing notions of identity formulation and the way speakers struggle with them. It reveals national identity as attached to terms “with a past.” Speakers project their image of national identity on language but they are also caught by the associations of such terms. National identity becomes personal identity in the utterance because speakers make it their own in positioning themselves between inclusion and exclusion.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

7.1 SUMMARY

This dissertation has investigated how participants in conversations negotiate processes of “arriving at identities.” In any given utterance, there are no permanent arrivals but speakers continuously negotiate their own and others identities. In this dissertation, I have specifically focused on German national identities and on how speakers of German formulate their own and others’ affiliation to these identities and social spaces. I have used the term “social space” to mean national identities that were familiar at the time of speaking as political entities as well as those that were emergent. The particular linguistic inventory I have examined were classifications of place, person, and time that include German group and place names as well as grammatically complex expressions, pronouns, adverbs, and certain motion verbs. These classifications have in common that they are central to the intersection of personal and national

identities in the utterance. In employing them, speakers mark social spaces and individuals in their affiliation to these social spaces.

The data for this study were German talk shows that aired between 1989 and 1994. I collected these data from a corpus of taped verbal interaction at the *Institut für deutsche Sprache (IDS)* in Mannheim and from the archive of the *Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk (MDR)* in Dresden and Leipzig. For the analysis of these data, I have mainly utilized conversation analysis, a methodology that requires the transcription and detailed analysis of conversational encounters, including the analysis of the co-text, i.e. the talk before the utterance, gesture, and eye gaze. In the analysis, I have also included speakers' knowledge about the speech situation such as date, place, identities of participants and audiences, and social contexts.

The chapters are organized according to different resources speakers have to formulate social spaces and their own and others' affiliation to them. The chapters are arranged from the most accessible to the most complex identity formulations requiring the most complex analysis, whereby each chapter builds on the preceding chapters. In Chapter Three, I have discussed nominals. In Chapter Four, I have examined the use of pronouns and adverbs. In Chapter Five, I have investigated how speakers employ specific German verbs of motion. In the final chapter of the empirical analysis, Chapter Six, I have attended to a speech mechanisms that conversation analysts calls "repair." I have discussed repair involving classifications of place, person, and time as a resource for speakers to formulate and negotiate German identities.

In the course of the analysis, I turned to other scholars' works in order to describe and define the processes of "arriving at identities" that emerged with the data. One of the key terms in this dissertation is that of "identity." Whenever I have used the term "identity," I mean that aspect of individual (or social) identity that results from a person's affiliation with social spaces, for example eastern Germany, western Germany, and unified Germany. In contrast to "identity" as a hybrid concept with several aspects that can be made relevant in the interaction, I returned to the original meaning of the word, "the same," going back to its Latin root *idem*. In particular, I have stressed the aspect of sameness over time and identity as a result of social practice.

Since my data dictated that I needed to describe individual identity in its relation to social structure, and in its relation to the past, I have drawn on Bourdieu's concept "habitus." I have stressed two aspects of habitus that seemed most important for my study. First, social identity as the current position of agents in the world is a result of the past, including the person's knowledge and experience acquired in the past. Second, social identity is embodied; linguistic habits are often beyond choice and are not easy to change. While accents are commonly named as an example of this embodiment, I found that the classifications I examine are also embodied practice, i.e. they are learned by living in a particular community.

A second concept I have utilized in my study is that of "voice." I have borrowed the term "voice" from Bakhtin, who originally applied it to literature, to mean that speakers, when they employ classifications, evoke social and cultural contexts, including hierarchies between groups and stereotypes. According to

Bakhtin, different voices are allusions to different “genres,” i.e. typical situations of speech communication. In this dissertation, I have used the term “genre” interchangeably with “indexical ground,” a concept I borrowed from Hanks but which I have expanded to include stereotypes and hierarchies among past, present, and future groups in the social space.

A third concept I have discussed in this dissertation is that of “positioning.” By that I mean that speakers position themselves and others in relation to social spaces because of voices evoked in the utterance. Speakers position themselves intentionally or unintentionally, which includes that others may position speakers because of voices that speak from the utterance. Speakers also position others. Positioning also means assigning identities and getting them assigned by others. If the same utterance evokes two or more different (cultural) voices, the utterance is heteroglossic.

In the following section, I will summarize how specifically identity, voice, and positioning relate to processes of “arriving at identities” in the data I have examined. I will then reiterate implications of this dissertation for different disciplines. Last, I will address challenges and limitations I faced in the research and writing process and will suggest ideas for further research.

7.2 RESULTS

This dissertation has corroborated earlier work that has shown that identity in the utterance is not fixed but changes. In fact, it may change with every single utterance and is negotiated by speakers. Often, these processes are referred to as

“constructions” of identity. The discussion in this dissertation has demonstrated that this “construction” is entangled with the past, which is why language positions speakers and evokes different voices. The data has shown the challenges that speakers face as a result of voices and positioning, which I will summarize as follows.

Some challenges come from habitual language use. Intergroup differences emerge without speakers’ intentions which has been problematic for speakers if they wanted to formulate a unified Germany rather than the division of eastern and western Germany. For example, in Chapter Five, I have discussed how the deictic *hier* (here) becomes a slip of the tongue if speakers physically move to the other place but use deictics as they had before. Examples of repair from Chapter Six also document challenges resulting from habitual usage.

Habitual language use as well as intentional selection among words may be responsible for the fact that participants and audiences take voices as an attempt to index speakers’ alignments with groups. These alignments occur, as I argued, especially in speech situations in which participants have competing visions about hierarchical relationships between groups in the social space. Examples were the use of words such as *BRD* in Chapter Three and the use of motion verbs in Chapter Five. I have also used the expression “emotional closeness” to refer to speakers’ alignments with whatever the voice stands for, whereby I understand “emotion” as culturally constructed.

Speakers can also take advantage of the fact that words evoke voices from the past. As I have shown, speakers strategically employ different voices and evoke different social spaces for politeness reasons. In the data, talk show hosts

in particular employed this strategy to position themselves close to addressees, including audiences that they considered to be of a different group than themselves.

The data have provided evidence that speakers employ strategies to attempt non-positioning in self-assignments and other-assignments of identities. For example, speakers choose nonsense words instead of a name, as in Chapter Six. In Chapter Four, I have discussed data segments, in which speakers employed the indefinite pronoun *man* (one) and *dieses* (this) instead of *unser* (our) to attempt non-positioning. The last data segment in Chapter Six has provided further evidence that speakers may employ *hier* (here) instead of *unser* (our) to avoid formulating their own relationship to social spaces. Finally, speakers have employed “innovative descriptions”, i.e. grammatically complex identity formulations, as alternatives to names. These attempts at non-positioning suggest that speakers try to defer identity assignments, which is, however, not possible. The very fact that speakers use language and that they have to make selections among linguistic resources reveals that they often acquire identities against their will.

Names typically are the most overt means to denote groups and relationships between groups in the social space. In several parts of this dissertation, I have discussed the limits in employing group and place names. Since names categorize social spaces, they seem to fail if social spaces change, i.e. if the indexical ground is lost. Names also fail if people move between groups that are in competition with each other. When speakers use names in identity formulations, they potentially apply stereotypes and hierarchies associated with

the social space to the person. Thus, speakers experience difficulties in employing names because of the tensions and competing visions of groups within the social space that are associated with identity formulations.

In contrast to names, deictics such as *wir* (we) and *hier* (here) adjust more easily to changing social contexts because of their inherent heteroglossia. I have shown that pronouns do not formulate a break in identity the same way as names do, if speakers do not specify these pronouns. This continuity is supported by the German grammatical system that does not offer different pronouns to formulate the addressees' inclusion in and exclusion from groups. While speakers' identities contextualizes deictics, I have demonstrated that deictics become more difficult to interpret if the speaker's social identity does not "fit" any categories. for example, if the speaker moved between competing social groups.

Though names and deictics have traditionally been treated as different. I have found intriguing and surprising similarities between them. Both nominals and social deictics are similar in that they rely on an indexical ground, i.e. on cultural and social contexts that include relationships between groups and the speaker's own position. Thus, speakers experience positioning with names as well as with social deictics through the way in which their own habitus contextualizes these classifications. I have discussed segments, in which previous identity assignments contextualize deictics as well as names. Thus, formulations of national identity, names as well as deictics, have deictic qualities because they are contextualized by the speaker's social position in the social space.

Finally, the discussion in this dissertation has addressed questions regarding the relationship between geography and social spaces. Data have

provided evidence that social spaces are abstractions from local places. For example, speakers understand each other even though *hier* (here) does not refer to the present moment of speaking but to a social space of the past, present, or future. I have also discussed the identity formulation “a person from x.” which, in the data, formulates physical arrivals as well as identity origins. Lastly, I have addressed specific overlaps of voices due to the talk show setting, i.e. the studio place in relation to a particular social space, one example being the commonplace greeting *Wir begrüßen Sie hier* (We welcome you here).

The rather exceptional case of the German social and political context around and after 1989 makes the study unique, though not limited to a German case study. One of the results of the study is that it dismantles what is so often taken for granted: that people of a community share an indexical ground including knowledge about hierarchical relationships between groups. Language is a social practice that, over time, symbolizes these relationships.

7.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR DIFFERENT FIELDS OF STUDY

The present study carries implications for issues in areas of study to which it relates most directly. These areas are: language and culture studies, conversation analysis, studies on national identity, German studies, language change, and media studies.

This dissertation offers insights for language and culture studies in the fields of discourse analysis as part of sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and microethnography. For these fields, this project presents a study on how speakers

formulate identities locally, i.e. within the specific cultural context “Germany” and as negotiated on a local turn-by-turn basis in the interaction. The main contribution of the present study to previous works is the focus on the role of the past for the present utterance. The investigation has shown that individuals are agents of classification and naming processes, however, limited by social constraints, habitus, and linguistic systems. This dissertation offers insights into different processes of identity construction, for example, self-assignment and other-assignment, and into the negotiation of terms that work for both members of the category as well as outsiders. Ultimately, it has also described linguistic entries of individuals to groups and reveals constraints that prevent individuals from such entries.

This dissertation provides insights for conversation analysis mainly by demonstrating an application of conversation analysis. Though my questions and interests may differ from those of other conversation analysts, this study offers contributions, for example, by inquiring into the functions of repair. Repair was obviously an important indicator of a break in habitual language use. Thus, repair may be an index of the common sense knowledge people develop in communities. It may reveal people’s attentions to the perceptions, values, stereotypes, and ideologies that are cognitively reinforced through social habitualization and daily routine.

For scholars of national identity, the present study shows the subtleties of identity negotiation in contrast to a categorical view of national identities. This study shows how identity works and, in part, critiques the acceptance of labels and abstract categories. It shows that national concepts are always in progress,

for regional, historical, or other reasons. This dissertation also reveals problems speakers have with these labels and demonstrates that language posits a challenge to new conditions. Meanings of classifications are often not part of a dictionary entry but are pragmatic components, i.e. they emerge with certain narrative contexts and with certain genres over time.

The insights from this study for German studies is twofold. First, while this project has examined linguistic processes of identity formulation, these processes are related to the formation of national identity at large. I hope to have provided evidence that the daily linguistic practices are linked to beliefs, values, and perceptions people have about societies and about their own and others' places in them. Second, this study does not assume from the outset differences between East and West Germany and its people, including differences in vocabulary. Rather, I have observed how speakers construct differences and similarities between groups in the utterance. An important result is that present intergroup differences may emerge with voices that tie language to different genres of the past.

This dissertation also provides insights for the study of language change, though I have surely not comprehensively discussed language change. I have described speakers' efforts to adjust to new norms as well as their resistance to language change, which, as I have argued is often about resisting social changes.

This dissertation provides insights for media studies from a perspective outside the field. Most importantly, the study focuses on specific kinds of German talk shows during a particular period in German history. With this study I have provided insights into the impact of social and cultural contexts for the

local construction of talk shows hosts, the settings, and the linguistic behavior of participants on talk shows in general.

7.4 CHALLENGES, LIMITATIONS, AND FURTHER RESEARCH

The interdisciplinary nature of the project has certainly been a challenge. Different disciplines speak with a voice based on their own “genre.” which concerns the definition of terms as well as writing styles. Though the different perspectives and research questions of each discipline enrich the study, there is a danger of losing touch with any of the fields while trying to incorporate them all.

Another challenge has been that conversational data certainly offers a complexity that makes a comprehensive analysis difficult and, some might say, impossible. To the best of my abilities, I have provided an analysis that acknowledges this complexity by attending to the contexts in which the utterance occurs. As with any analysis of this kind, however, there are limits to an “objective” description due to my own subjectivity.

In the description of formulating identities in this data, I have found it difficult to operate with terms that have already been defined. An analysis of conversations embedded in specific cultural and social contexts lends itself to discover new processes that have not been described before. For example, I found the term “voice” somewhat too general for the phenomenon of “cultural voice” that I have described. I also found that the “indexical ground,” as I have defined it, is not “referred to” in the same way as reference to an object is made. To say that this ground is constructed in the utterance is also too limited because

“construction” does not account for the constraints speakers face. I have especially struggled with the term “identity” because of its ambiguity, diffusion, and interdisciplinary differences. Thus, in order to describe what happens in the data more accurately, I would need to invent my own terms.

The limitations of language were also noticeable in the difficulties I experienced with my own identity assignments. In providing background about the speakers, I had to use these assignments even though they may be contested by the person whose identity I formulate. Similar to the speakers in my data, I often felt uncomfortable labeling participants as East German or West German.

There are certainly areas in this dissertation that lend themselves to further study. One of these areas is the speech mechanism “repair.” A quantitative analysis of repair, for example, in addition to the qualitative analysis I offered, may provide further insights. It may be worth examining if eastern Germans initiate more repair on “eastern German” classifications and western Germans more on “western German” classifications, guests more than talk show hosts etc. A further area that could be developed more is the description of different processes of identity formulation such as self- and other-assignments. Further research could show their consequences for the interaction and how repairs on self- and other-assignments differ. It may be enlightening to compare the current data with speech situations before 1989 as well as present speech situations. Also, if some of the linguistic processes described in this dissertation are results of social changes, the same processes can be expected with similar social changes in other communities. A comparison of identification processes in other communities may be revealing in order to detect what is specific to Germany and

to the German language and what is similar across different communities. Overall, I feel that the research presented in this dissertation opens doors to many intriguing research projects in the future.

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